PART - II

Chapter - 7

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

We come across geographical references in the NS mainly in Adhyāyas 13, 17, 21 and 28. Like the geographical accounts in the Purāṇas, these in the NS are, to some extent, mixed up with mythology.

In Adhyāya 13 in connection with the movements of human beings and celestial beings, we have several place names, e.g. Trailokya, Loka, Āloka, Rasātala, Daityālaya and Nāgālaya. Verse 21 which is regarded as interpolated refers to the several Varsas or territorial divisions such as Bhārata, Haima, Harivarṣa, Ilāvṛta, Kimpuruṣa and Uttarakuru. In the same context verses 27 to 32 mention several geographical items. Bhāratavarṣa is again named in verse 27. Then we have the names of several mountains, e.g. Himavat, Kailāsa on the back (prastha) of Himavat, Hemakūṭa, Mahāmeru, Hīla, Svetaparvata and Śrīvaṅga. Bhārata puts all these mountains in Jamblinīpī. From verse 37 onwards Bhārata explains the four Pravṛttis. These are (i) Āvantī, (ii) Dākṣinātya, (iii) Pāncaḷi and (iv) Oḍramāgadhī. The names of these four styles, as can be clearly seen, are derived from the names of the four regions in which they must have
respectively originated and prevailed. These regions therefore, became a subject of description in the NS. It starts with the Pravṛtti prevalent in the South, which is therefore called Dāksīṇātyā. The description of the regions starts with the mention of five mountains. These are Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Mekala, and Pālāmaṇḍjara (Pālāmaṇḍjaka or Kālāmaṇḍjara). The regions lying in these mountains are called regions of the Dāksīṇāpattha. According to another reading the whole territory comprising these regions is called Dāksīṇāpattha. The regions named are Kosala, Tosala, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Dramīqa, Āndhra, Mahārāstra, Vaiṇṇa and Vanavāsaja. The whole territory is described as lying between the Vindhyā mountain and the Dāksīṇa Samudra or the Southern Sea.

Then Bharata takes up the Avanti Style. The regions in which this style prevails are: Avanti ka, Vaiḍāika, Saurāstra, Mālava, Saṁdhava, Sauvīra, Ānarta, Arbudeyaka, Dasarna, Traipura and Nārttiṅkāvata (Vaiṁāṅkāvata or Vaivartikāvata).

1. NS Ch. 13; 39.
2. NS Ch. 13; 38.39.
3. NS Gh. 13, 40.
4. NS. Ch. 13, 41.
5. NS Gh. 13, 42.43.
After this we have the names of regions in which the Odramāgadhi style prevails. These are: Anga, Vanga, Ut-Kaliṅga, Vatsa, Odramāgadha, Paundra, Nepalaka, Antaragirā and Bahirgirā, Plavāṅgama, Malada, Mallavartaka, Brahmottara, Bhārgava, Mārgava, Prāgjyotisa, Pulinda, Valdeha, Tāmaliptaka, Prāṅga and Prāvṛtī. The NS adds that Odramāgadhi style prevails also in other countries described in Purāṇas as Prācyā or Eastern.

Lastly the regions which use the Pāncālī style are mentioned. These are Pāncāla, Saurasena, Kāśmīra, Hastināpura, Bāhlika, Śakala, Madra, Uṣānara and the regions north to the Gaṅgēs lying in the Himalayan terrain.

The other important geographical references are to be found in the 17th Adhyāya in connection with the enumeration of the seven regional speeches of India. In these names we clearly see the names of Maghadha, Avanti, Prācyā, Sūrasena, Bāhlika, Dāksinātya, Dramiḍa, Andhra, etc. In verse 59 there is a general reference to the

6. NS. 13, 45.48.
7. NS. 13, 49.50.
8. NS 17, 55.56.
regions which are lying between Ganges and the Sāgara. By Sāgara we should understand here the Mahodadhi or the Bay of Bengal. Then we have the mention Surāstra and Avanti regions to the north of Veiravatī. We also have a reference to regions of Himavat, Sindhu and Sauvira. Finally we have a reference to the regions lying on the Garmanvati and the regions lying in the terrain of the Arbuda.

In Adhyāya 21 we have several geographical references in connection with the colour of the skin of the peoples and their costumes. We have also geographical references in connection with the different hair styles of women. Verses 67-70 refer to the regions of Avanti, Cauda, Abhīra, as well as regions lying in the north-east and of the south. Verse 98 mentions Samudra, Himavat and Ganges. Verse 100 makes a bare reference to the six Dvīpas. In verse 101 Jambudvīpa is again mentioned. Verses 102 and 103 mention the several Varsas or territories. Verse 101 which refers to the Varsa of Jambudvīpa, is Bharata, as explained by the commentator. There is also a mention of

9. NS 17, 52.
10. NS 17, 53.
11. NS Vol. III, p. 105
Uttarakuru and Ketumāla. In verse 104 Bharata refers to Bhāratavarsa which is mentioned in Adhyāyas 13.27, 13.98 and 13. Verses 110-112 refer to several peoples, some of which have geographical significance. e.g. Andhra, Dravida, Kāśi, Kosala, Dāsānētā, Sāka,Yavana, Pahlava, & Bahlīka. Similarly we have references to Pāncāla, Saurasena, Māhiṣa, Udrāmāgadha, Ānga, Vaṅga, and Kaliṅga.

In Adhyāya 28, eleven Jātis of Madhyama grāma are stated. Some of these Jātis indicate the regions of their origin. e.g. Gāndhārī, Ṡndhrī, etc.

If we put all these reference in a consolidated form we get the following geographical information:

I The different Lokas or worlds: Trailokya, Āloka, Loka, Rasātala, Deityālaya, Naṇḍālaya.

II Dwīpas: Seven Dwīpas: Their names are not mentioned. Only Jambūdvīpa is named.

III Varsas: Bhāratavarsa, Haima, Harivarsa, Ilāvṛta, Uttarakuru and Kimpurusa.

IV Mountains: Himalaya, Kailāsa, Himavat, Hemakūṭa, Mahāmeru, Nīlameru, Vaɪdīrya,

12. NS 21, 102,103.
13. NS 28, 42,43.
Svetaparvata, Śrīngavat, Arbudeyaka, Vindhyā, Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Mekala, Pālamanjara (Pālamanjaka or Kālamanjara), Antargīra and Bahirgīra.

V  Rivers and Seas: Gāṅgā, Sindhu, Vetravatī, Carmāvatī; Daksīna - Samuḍra and Saṅgara.

VI  Broad territorial Divisions: Dakśinapatha, Avanti, Magadha, and Pāñcāla; and Prācya countries as described in the Purāṇas.

VII  Names of regions: Kosala, Tosāla, Kalinga, Yavana, Khasa, Dāmāda, Āndhra, Mahārāṣṭra, Vaiṅga, Vanavāsaśa. Avantika, Vaiḍīśika, Saurāṣṭra, Malava, Saṁdhava, Sauvīra, Ānarta, Arbudeyaka, Daśāma, Traipura and Mārttiṃkāvata (Vaiṁanakavata or Vaivartikāvata), Āṅga, Vāṅga, Kalinga, Vatsa, Odramāgaḍha, Paundra, Nepālaka, Antargīra, Bahirgīra, Plavamgama, Malada, Kallavarta, Brahmottara, Bhārgava, Mārgava, Prājyotisā, Pulinda, Vaideha, Tāmaliṣṭaka, Prāṅga and Prāvṛtī. Pāṅga, Saurāṣṭra, Kaśmīra, Hastināpurā, Bāhlika, Sākala, Madra, Maṅśīnara, and the regions north to the Gaṅgēs lying in the Himalayan terrain. Magadha, Prācya desas as described in the Purāṇas, Abhirā, Gāḍa, regions that lie between the Gaṅgēs and the
Sāgara, Pāñcāla madhyama Janapadas i.e. the regions lying in the Pāñcāla.

Let us now see how scholars have tried to identify these references.

The different Lokas or worlds: In Adhyāya 13 while describing the zonal divisions of the stage in verses 4-7, Bharata speaks of Prthvī, Sāgara, Trailokya, Ṭhoka, Loka, Vargṣas, seven dvīpas, Rasātala, Daityālāya and Nāgālāya. Prthvī may be taken as referring to the whole earth and Sāgara to the sea in general. Trailokya is a general name indicating the whole universe comprising according to Vedic tradition, Svargā, Antarikṣa and Prthvī. According to Purānic tradition these would be the heavenly regions, the earth proper and the nether regions or Pātāla. Obviously these are mythological names. So also are Ṭhoka, Loka, Daityālāya, and Nāgālāya for the present. Rasātala also was taken formerly as a mythological name.
Shri N.L. Dey, however has tried to identify it with Central Asia particularly Tartary and Turkestan. 14. We, however, cannot be sure as to whether the NS understood the territory as identified by Shri N.L. Dey.

14. He says, "in order to ascertain which country was meant by Rasatala, we must examine the word itself. Rasatala consists of two words Rasa and Tala. Rasa is mentioned in the Rg-veda as the name of a river. It is the same as the Ranghā of the Avestā which has been identified by Profs. Keith and Macdonell with the Jaxartes. This identification is correct, as Rasa is evidently a corruption of Araxes, the classical name of the Jaxartes. Its identification with the Indus by Windischmann does not appear to be correct, as the river Indus was too well known at the time of the Rg-veda by the name Sindhu to be called by the name Rasa. The word Tala is the Sanskritised form of Tele which is another name for the Huns. Dr. J.J. Modi in his Early History of the Huns says, 'the Huns were called Te-le or Til-le'. The compound word Rasatala therefore means the country on the banks of the Jaxartes where the Huns resided. According to the Hindu works rasatala has both a general and specific signification. In its general sense it means the whole region called 'Rasatala' which is below the earth, and in its specific sense it means one of the seven spheres into which it is divided. As Rasa means the world, Rasatala in its general sense means the 'world' or the country of the Huns, that is Tartary or Central Asia, including Turkestan; and as the name of a particular 'sphere' or province of that country, it is the valley of the Jaxartes where the Huns resided. There can be no doubt that Rasatala originally meant the country of the Huns." (IHQ. Vol.I pp. 133-134.)
Dvipas: According to Hindu mythology the whole world is divided into Dvipas. 'Dvīpa' Lit. M*1'-*'
means a land between two arms of water. It also signified an island or a peninsula. It also means a division of land (big or small). The NS names only Jambūdvīpa15 out of the seven Dvipas. The seven Dvipas mentioned in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas are: Jambū, Haksa, Sālmala, Kusa, Krauñca, Saka and Puskara.

Jambūdvīpa is mentioned in the NS at several places.16 But none of these references helps us in locating it. The verse 101 of Adhyāya 21, however, refers to 'Jambūdvīpasya varṣe' - in the region of Jambūdvīpa. This region is indentified by AG as Bharata. If the NS also means Bhāratavarsa by varṣa here, we may say that Jambūdvīpa is a wider area of

16. Ibid.

This dvīpa according to some Purāṇas is named after the Jambū tree (Brahmanda, 37:23-34, 50:25-26, 50:25-26, Matsya, 114:74-75). Its shape is described to be that of a lotus having Meru as its Karnika (pericarp) and the Varṣas or big divisions (some times known as mahādvīpas) Shadrāvāna, Bhārata, Ketumala and Uttarākuru form its favour petals.

which India is a part. Similar view is held by Shri G. D. Dalal, H. C. Raychaudhari, M.P. Tripathi and S.M. Ali. They consider India as a part of Jambudvipa. Other scholars like Colonel F. Wilford and Shri N.L. Dey identify Jambudvipa with India. Shri B.C. Law after examining the Puranic, Jaina and Buddhist sources says that the evidences are, therefore, conflicting and do not help us in identifying the division with any amount of certainty. As stated above, according to the NS, Jambudvipa is not Bhārata in its narrower sense, but it must be wider than Bhārata.

III Varsa: Sir Monier Williams explains varṣā thus: "A division of the earth as separated off by certain mountain ranges." In the NS

18. KM., p. 291.
19. SLA; p. 64-65.
23. GD.; p. 80
24. GS.; p.6
six Varsas are mentioned, viz. Bharatavarsa, Hima, Harivarsa, Ilavrta, Uttarakuru and Kimpurusa. The number of Varsas vary in Mahabharata and Puranas. The Jain work Jambudvipaprajapat enumerates seven Varsas. These are: Bharata, Airavata, Haimavat, Hiranyavat, Harivarsa, Ramyaka and Mahavideha.

As regards to the location of these Varsas, on the authority of the various Puranas, Dr. Tripathi says, "Ilavrta is situated at the centre and is called Meruvarsa, Ramyaka, Hiranyamaya and Uttarakuru lie to the north of Meru, Bharata, Kimpurusa and Harivarsa are situated to the south of the mountain and in the east and west lie the other two Bhadravas and Ketumala." 

Now let us see how the six Varsas referred to in the NS are located by modern scholars.

1. Bharatavarsa: On the authority of the Vayu Purana, Dr. H.C. Raychaudhari says, "Bharatavarsa is the southern most Varsa lying between the Himavat and the Sea." 

27. Quoted by Dr. M.P. Tripathi, DOGKAI, p. 211.
28. DOGKAI, p. 183.
29. NS 13.21, 27; 18.98; 21.104.
30. SIA; p. 76.
Shri M.L. Dey identifies Bhāratavārṣa with India as a whole. He, however, as noted above identifies Jambudvīpa and Bhāratavārṣa and says that "Bhāratavārṣa is the political conception of India whereas Jambudvīpa represents a geographical conception." The editors of GBAAMī treat this matter in some detail. They say "Most ancient Indian literary and foreign records do not treat India so comprehensively as to cover the whole of the sub-continent. The Vedic Aryans termed it 'Sapta-Saindhava' which stands for the Punjab plains only. Manu and Baudhāyana treated it as Āryavarta. Darius and Herodotus referred Ind or Indu (Hindu) to the Indus valley and Upper Gangetic region. It was only in the days of Megasthenes that the whole country down to the Pāṇḍya region in the south was described as a single unit. During the reigns of Aśoka and subsequent Indian rulers Bhārata stood for a wider territory. The days of the Guptaśas saw the limits of the country in the Himalayas and the oceans."

with the expansion of Indian culture on the overseas territory the limit of India included the East Indies and thus developed the concept of Nine dvīpas of Bhāratavārṣa."

31. GB p. 32.
32. GBAAMī, p. 61.
We may note here that the NS conveys the impression that Bharata or Bharatavarsa is a whole subcontinent between the Himalayas and the Southern Sea i.e. the Indian ocean, the eastern limit being the Prāgjyotisa i.e. Assām and the western limit being Saurāstra.

Let us now in passing consider the different views as to why this country has been called Bharatavarsa or Bharata. According to Shri N.L. Dey, Bharata is named after a king called Bharata and before Bharata it was called Himāhavarsa and Himavatvarsa.

As to who this Bharata was, there are different opinions. One opinion is that it is the land of 14 Manus and is named after Manu known as Bharata (M. 114-115). According to the Jaina tradition the name Bharata is due to Bharata, the eldest son of Rsabhadeva, the first Tirthankara. Bharata ruled over the whole country and therefore the country was called Bharata. This Jain tradition is found also in many of the Purānas. They explain Bhārata from Bharata son of Rsabha, and grand-son of Nābhi, who was a descendent of Manu. But in some of the Puranic passages it is supposed to be derived from Bharata, second son of Manu himself. The
mahābhārata, however, takes this Bharata to be the son of Dusyanta. However the view which seems more plausible is the one which connects Bharata with the Bharata tribe mentioned in the Ṛgveda.  

2. Himavarsa. On the authority of the Linga Purāṇa, Shri N.L. Dey says that this is the name of India before it was called Bhāratavarṣa.  

3. Harivarsa. Shri N.L. Dey says that it included the western portion of Tibet. Uttarakuru was also known as Harivarsa.  

4. Ilavṛtā. According to Markandeya Purāṇa this is the elevated region in the centre and is also known as Meruvarṣa. Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri, on the authority of the Brahmanda Purāṇa and Mahābhārata, says that it is the district round Meru which is

33. SIA, p. 77  
34. NS 13.21.  
35. GD, p. 73.  
36. NS 13.21.  
37. GD, p. 74.  
38. NS 13.21.  
39. SIA, p. 72.
beyond Himāyalayas. According to Pargiter, Ilāvṛta is the original seat of the Aryans, for, this has been the sacred spot in Indian historical tradition. It is described as the centre of the universe.

5. Uttarakuru. The Purāṇas consider this to be a Varsa surrounding the Śrīgavat mountain, which is the third mountain range from the Mahāmāyūrī in the north. Shri N.L. Dey identifies it with the "northern portion of the Garwal and Hīnadeśa, where the river Mandākīnī and the Chaitrāratha-kāhāna are situated. (Aitāreya Brāhmaṇa, viii, 14.4; M. Bh., Vana. Ch. 145)." He further states that "it originally included the countries beyond the Himalaya. It is the Ottorakorra of Ptolemy. Lēssen places it to the east of Kashgar (Griffith's Rāmāyana Vol. IV, p. 424). Tibet (M. Bh., Bhīṣma, Ch. 7) and Eastern Turkestan were included in Uttarakuru (Rāmāyana, Kishk. Ch. 43). . . . . . Uttarakuru was also called

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40. Ibid, p. 65.
41. AIHT, pp. 198-300.
42. NS 13.21.
43. GD p. 213-214.
Harivarsha. The Brahmanda Purana (Ch. 43) places far to the north by the ocean (v. 53). The name perhaps exists in Korea which appertained to the Uttara-Kuru-dvipa. Shri S. M. Ali discusses this problem at length and comes to the conclusion that it is modern 'Western Siberian Region.' 44 Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri differs from these two scholars and says, "Uttarakuru of the Puranas is, however, a sort of -Dorado which it would be futile to equate with any territorial region." 45

6. Kimpurusa: 46 Shri K. L. Dey 47 identifies it with Nepal but Shri C. D. Dalal 48 does not agree with this identification. He is of the opinion that according to Rajasekhara Kimpurusa is to the north of the Himalayas, which also agrees with the location given in the Puranas. He further informs us that 'some scholars identify this Varsa with Tibet which seems to be more plausible.' 49

44. GOP pp. 84-86.
45. SIA, p. 75
46. NS 13. 21.
47. GD p. 100
48. KM p. 286.
49. Ibid.
IV Mountains. NS refers to all the mountain ranges of India in a general way. It mentions the seven Varṣa Parvatas and the four Kula Parvatas. As noted above, the seven Varṣa Parvatas are: Meru, Nīla, Sveta, Śrīgvan, Nīsadha, Hemakūṭa and Himavat. The four Kula Parvatas are: Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya and Vindhya.

The Purāṇas mention the seven Varṣa Parvatas referred to in the NS; they also add the following Kula Parvatas to the three of the NS. These are: Śuktimat, Riktas, and Pāripātra or Pāriyātra.

1. Mahāmeru or Meru: According to the NS this is a great mountain where thirty-three groups of gods dwell. It is situated in the middle of Jambudvīpa and surrounded by Ilavṛta. This is obviously mythical. However, Shri N.L. Dey identifies it with the Hindukush range.51 Shri S.M. Ali is of the opinion that "There are only five elevated regions in the vast Himalayan and Trans-Himalayan zone which could possibly be

50. NS 13.30.
identified with Meru and whose characteristics approximately if not exactly corresponded with those laid down in the Purāṇas. These are:

(a) The region covered by the Karakoram cluster of peaks.
(b) The region covered by Dhaulagiri cluster of peaks.
(c) The region covered by the Everest cluster of peaks.
(d) The tibetan plateau enclosed by the Kun-lun and Himalayan arcs.
(e) The Pamir high plateau enclosed by snow-clad peaks of the Hindukush, Karakoram, Tien Shan Trans Alai system.52

2. Hemakūta.53 This is the Varṣa Parvata of Kimpuruṣavarsa. It is situated on the southern side of Mahāmeru. The NS says that this is the mountain where Gandharvas, Apsarasas and Gaṇas live. This is also mythical. However, on the authority of the Mahābhārata, Shri N.L. Dey says, "it is another name for the Kailāsa mountain.

52. GOP, p.50
53. NS 13.21.
which is the abode of Kubera, the king of Yaksas.\textsuperscript{54} Shri H.C. Chakladar believes that the Hemakūta is the name of a range of mountains lying just beyond the Himalaya parallel to it and extending like it between the Eastern and the Western oceans. From these I guess that the Hemakūta represents the Trans-Himalayan ranges discovered and explored by the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin.\textsuperscript{55} Shri S.M. Ali identifies it with the "Ladakh-Kailash-Trans-Himalayan chain."\textsuperscript{56}

2. Nīlamera\textsuperscript{57} This is the Varsa Parvata of Ramyaka and is found situated immediately to the north of Mahēmeru. The NS says that this is a mountain where Siddhas and Brahmarsis live. According to Puranic mythology this mountain is full of lapis lazuli. Obviously this is a mythological mountain. However, scholars try to identify it in various ways. Shri N.L. Dey identifies this mountain in five ways: (1) Nīlghiri or Nīlīchal, a low range of sand hills in the districts of Puri in Orissa

\textsuperscript{54} GD p.75,  
\textsuperscript{55} GOK p.14.  
\textsuperscript{56} GOP p.53.  
\textsuperscript{57} NS 13.21.
on which the temple of Jagannath is situated, (ii) A hill near Gauhati in Assam on which the temple of Kamakhya devi is situated, (iii) Nilgiri hill in the Madras Presidency, (iv) The Hariwad hills called Chandi-Fahad situated on the northern side of the Ganges called here Nîladhara between Hariwad and Kankhala, (v) On the north of Meru, the Kueglun range in Tibet. Shri S.M. Ali considers 'Nîla' as one of the three latitudinal ranges north of Meru (Pamirs) i.e. the Nîla, the longest and nearest to Meru. Nîla represents Zarafshan-Trans-Alai-Tienshan ranges.

4. Sveta-parvata. This is the Varsa Parvata of Hiranmaya or Svetavarsa. This is the second mountain to the north of the Mahameru which is situated in the middle of Jambudvipa. According to the NS this is the mountain where Daityas and Danavas live. This is obviously mythical. However, Shri N.L. Dey identifies it with the Svetagiri, a portion of the Himalaya to the south of Tibet. Shri S.M. Ali identifies it with the Nura Tau-Turkistan-Atbashi Akshai, Irak ranges.
5. **Srīgaṇatī.** This is the Varsa Parvata of Uttarakuru. It is said to be the third mountain to the north of the Mahāmeru. According to the NS this is the mountain where Pitṛs live. This is mythical. However, Shri S.M. Ali identifies it with Kara-Tau-Kirghiz-Ketman ranges. 64

6. **Nīsadhar.** This is the Varsa Parvata of Harivarsa. It is situated immediately to the south of Mahāmeru. According to the NS this is the mountain where all Māgas such as Śeṣa, Vāsuki and Taksaka live. This is mythological. However, scholars like Shri N.L. Dey 66 and Shri S.M. Ali 67 identify it with the Hindukush-Kunlun range.

7. **Himavat.** This is the Varsa Parvata of Bhāratavarsa. Shri N.L. Dey identifies it with the Himalayan range to the south of Mahāsarasvāra. 69 Prof. S.M. Ali also identifies it with the same range. 70 However, Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri says, "The Himavat had a wider denotation in

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63. NS 13.32.
64. GOP, p.73.
65. NS, 13.30.
66. GD, p.
67. GOP, p.53
68. NS 13.28.
69. GD, p.75
70. GOP, p.53.
ancient times. This is made clear by all our ancient authorities, Indian as well as Greek. A passage of the Markandeya Purāṇa says - 'such is this country Bharata, constituted with fourfold confirmation. On its south and west and east is the great ocean, the Himavat range stretches along on its north, like the string of a bow.'

Now let us take the Kula parvatas. The word 'Kula' has the meaning of race, country or tribe. It is significant that each Kula-parvata is particularly associated with a distinct country or tribe. NS refers as noted above, to the four Kula parvatas. These are Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya and Vindhya.

1. Mahendra

Shri N.L. Dey identifies it with the whole range of hills extending from Orissa to the district of Madura. It included the eastern Ghats and the range extending from the Northern Circars of Gondwana, part of which near Ganjam is still called Mahendra Malei or the hills of Mahendra. It joins the Malaya mountain.
identifies the Mahendra range with the portion of the Eastern Ghāts between the Godāvarī and the Mahanadi river, part of which near Ganjam.\textsuperscript{75}

2. Malaya\textsuperscript{76} This is the Kula Parvata of the Pāṇḍyas.\textsuperscript{77} This is the most famous mountain in classical Sanskrit literature. In words of Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri "It gives its name to the cooling breeze of the South which finds frequent mention in Indian poetry."\textsuperscript{78} Shri N.L. Dey identifies it with the "Southern parts of the western Ghāts, South of the river Kaveri, called the Travancore hills, including the Gardamum mountain extending from Kollambūra gap to Cape Comorin."\textsuperscript{79} Shri D.C. Sircar says that "Malaya [(derived from the Dravidian word malai meaning 'hill')] was the name applied to the Travancore hills and the southern part of the western Ghāts."\textsuperscript{80}

\textsuperscript{75} SIA, p.97
\textsuperscript{76} NS 13.39
\textsuperscript{77} SIA, p.99.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid, p.100
\textsuperscript{79} GD, p.122.
\textsuperscript{80} SGAM, p.53.
3. **Sahyas** This is the Kula Parvata of Aparantas, the people of western India, and particularly of the Konkan. Shri M.L. Dey identifies it with the "northern parts of the western Ghats north of the river Kaveri." Shri D.C. Sircar says, "Sahya is the name applied to that part of the Western Ghats which lies to the north of the Travancore hills." Dr. H.C. Raychoudhuri agrees with this identification.

4. **Vindhyas** This is the Kula Parvata of the Atavyas and other forest folk of central India. This is identified by the scholars as the mountain range south of the Narmada. This is the mountain range which separates the Northern India from the Deccan.

The other mountains referred to in the NS are Kailasa, Vaidurya, Arbudeyaka,

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81. NS 13.39.
82. SIA, p. 97
83. GD, p. 171
84. SGAI, p. 52.
85. SIA, p. 102
86. NS 13.41.
87. SIA, p. 97.
88. UGKAI, p. 194 and SIA, pp. 108-114.
Mekala, Palamanejara (Palamanejaka or Kalamanjara), Antargiri and Bahirgiri. The geographical establishment of these Parvatas is as under:

1. **Kailasa.** According to the NS Kailasa lies on the Paustha i.e. back of Himavat i.e. the Himalayas. Here Yaksas, Guhyakas and other dependents of Kubera, Rakshasas, Shrutas and Pisacas are supposed to live. Obviously this is a semi-mythological reference. It is a peak of the Himalayas. Shri N.L. Dey is of the opinion that "it is the Kangrinpoche of the Tibetans, situated about 25 miles to the north of Manas Sarovara beyond Gangri which is also called Darchin and to the each of Niti Pass. It is said to be the abode Mahadeva and Paravatī. The Kailasa mountain is also called Hemakūta. Kailasa is the Ashtapada mountain of the Jains."³⁰

2. **Vaidurya.** The name suggests that it contained Vaidurya Beryl mines. Shri N.L. Dey identifies

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³⁰ G. D., p. 75.
³¹ NS 13.31.
it with (i) the island of Māndhātā in the Narbadā, which contains the celebrated temple of Omkarnāth, was anciently called Baidūrya Parvata (SK.P.Revākhanda), (ii) it has been identified by Yale with the northern section of the western ghāts. The Parvata or mountain is situated in Gujarat near the source of the river Visvāmithrī which flows by the side of Baroda. (iii) Sātpurā range92.

Dr. H.C. Raychoudhuri on the authority of the Mahābhārata and Ptolemy identifies it as a connecting link between the Sahya and the southern Vindhya. He says, "Vaidūrya apparently included the northern most part of the western Ghāts as the evidence of Ptolemy suggests. But it also included a part at least of the Sātpurā range as the Mahābhārata clearly indicates. It is the connecting link between the Sahya and the southern Vindhya with both of which it seems to have been confounded."93

3. Arbudevaka (Arbudadvaka)94 This is identified with the modern Mount Abu in the Arvallī range in Rājasthān.95

92. GD, p.16.
93. SIA, p.116, fn.4.
94. NS 13.30.
95. GD, p.10.
4. **Mekala.** Shri H.L. Dey identifies it with the mount Amarakantaka in which the river Narmada has its source. It is a part of the Vindhya range.

5. **Pālamanjara (Palamanjaka or Kālamanjara):** Sometimes these words Pāla and hānjara are taken separately but are always joined together. As mountains situated in the Daksināpatha they are identified with Pāla near Mahāda by Shri C.D. Dalal.

6. **Antarzirī:** Shri H.L. Dey identifies it with the Rajmahāl hills in the district of Santal Paraganā in the province of Bengal.

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96. NS 13.39.
97. GD, p. 130.
98. NS 13.39. If we take the reading Kālamanjara-panjara, it could be identified with Kālanjara in MP, but the reading taken above is more appropriate for Daksināpatha.
100. NS 13.45.
Dr. V. S. Agrawal observes, "the Antargiri literally 'inner mountain' denoted the same high range as the Pāli mahāhimavanta. It is the great central Himalaya which comprises those highest peaks which have an altitude of 18,000 ft. and more like Gaurishankara, Nandādevī, Kedaranātha, etc. The name Upagiri signified the outlying region of Tarai. In between the two lies the lesser Himalaya range known in Sanskrit Vahirgiri and in Pāli as Cullahimavanta. It is the sub-Himalayan range of low-lying peaks having altitude of 6,000 ft. and more up to 10,000 ft. Antargiri and Upagiri are also mentioned by Paññini (v. 4. 112)."

Dr. Singh is of the opinion that the Antargiris and the Sahirgiris of the Purāṇas may be taken to denote the lower slopes of the Himalayas and the Nepal Tarai reaching up to Prāgjyotisā, for they are placed in the eastern division. It is interesting to note that in the NS they have been mentioned with the Nepalakas.

102. NS 13.45.
104. CSDGDP, p. 222.
105. NS 13.45.
Rivers and Seas: The MS refers to four rivers. These are: Ganga, Sindhu, Veiravati, and Garmanvati. In the three references to the Seas, Sagara is mentioned thrice and Daksinasamudra once.

1. Gaṅgā: This is one of the most popular and sacred rivers of India. It emerges from the Himalayas into the plains at Raikesā. In the hill areas it is joined by Alakanandā and Mandākinī. Its cultural importance is thus shown by Shri S. D. Misra: 'The river Gaṅgā draining vast plains of northern India between the Himalayas on the north and the Vindhyā Hills on the south, has nurtured and given shelter to many races and civilizations. In the course of these developments religious centres like Hardwar, Prayāg, Kāshī, and Kālighat; educational centres like Delhi, Roorkee, VāraṇŚī, Allahabad and Calcutta; and imperial cities like Indrapatha, Fatehpur Sīkri, Cour, Murshidābād and Calcutta have flourished. The river, during its long journey from the Himalayas to the Sea, with its numerous tributaries and distributaries, has attracted,
from very ancient days human settlements on its banks with the attendant growth of different civilizations. 108

2. Sindhu. 109 This is the river Indus. It gave the name to our country - India. This is the river known to Indians since the Pre-Vedic period. Shri S. D. Misra says, "it is also called Sambheda and Sangama. It is considered among the seven streams of the Divyagāhā or the 'celestial Gaṅgā.' 110 He further says, "At the start the river is a united flow of two streams - one flowing north-west from the north-west side of the Kailāsa Parvata, and the other in a north-westerly direction from a lake situated to the north-east of the Kailāsa. Beginning from this confluence it flows north-west over a long distance to turn south below the Kārākoram Range. From this point it flows in a slightly meandering and south-westerly course, till it falls into the Arabian sea." 111 We know that the Indus Val ley civilization flourished on the banks of this river. Thus it has great historical and cultural importance.

108. Rivers of India, p.22.
109. NS, 17.62.
110. Rivers of India, p.4.
111. Ibid.
3. **Vetravati:**

According to Shri B. C. Law this is modern Betwa that flows into the Jumna. Shri S. D. Misra says, "The Betwa rises in the Sehore district and flows in a north-easterly direction. After flowing for 80 km it enters Vidisha, then touches U.P. at Lalitpur (Jhansi district) and flows north and north-east traversing Orchha and Jalaun, and meeting Yamuna at Hamirpur. ... ... There is a reference in the Puranas and in the Meghaduta to this river. As the story goes, the Pândavas fought king of Vidishā/its banks."  

4. **Garmanvati:**

This is the well-known river Cambal, a tributary of Jumna. Shri S. D. Misra says, It rises 15 KM south-west of how in the Janapao Hills (700 metres). Thence it flows down the northern slopes of the Vindhyā Range with a northward course generally through the Madhya Bharata region of Madhya Pradesh and enters Rājasthān at Chaurisgarh, 312 KM from its source."  

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112. NS. 17-61.
113. GE, p. 117.
114. Rivers of India, p. 65.
115. NS 17.63.
116. Rivers of India, p. 64.
As to Sea we have three references to Sāgara and one reference to Daksinasamudra. In the phrase "gaṅgāsāgara madhye" the reference may be either to the western Sea i.e. the Arabian Sea or to the Indian ocean, but more probably to the latter.

Daksīnasamudra: The Southern Sea. In the line "Daksīnasya samudrasya tathā vindhyasya cāntare" we must understand by Daksīnasamudra the Sea to the South of the Vindhyā range. In Kāvyāmāṁsā of Rajasēkhara Bharatavarṣa is supposed to lie between Daksīna samudra and the Himalayas.

From these two references we identify the Daksīnasamudra with the Indian ocean proper.

117. NS 17.59.
118. NS 17.60.
119. NS 13.41.
120. NS 13.41. Ibid.
121. KM p.92.
VI Broad territorial Divisions and the names of regions comprised in them:

As stated above the four broad divisions of Bharata are mentioned in connection with the four Pravṛttis of Nātya. These are: Daksināpatha, Avanti, Pāṇcāla, and Odramāgadha.

Of all the geographical references in the NS, those which pertain to the main territories and the regions comprised in each one of them are most important because they give an accurate picture of India, as we may presume, it was really known to the author of the NS.

We have a distinct reference only to Daksināpatha in NS. By implication we may guess that the term Uttarāpatha may not have been unknown to the author of the NS, though there is no mention of the word in our text.
Daksinapatha, according to the KS contains the five mountains viz. Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Mekala and Palamanjara. The regions lying in these mountains can be broadly defined as lying between the Southern Sea i.e. Indian Ocean and the Vindhya mountain, because the Daksinapatha Pravrtti prevails in these regions. This is the region bounded by the Narmada in the north and the Cape Comorin in the south. According to Rajasekhara it represents the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Mahismati.

122. Different scholars have defined Daksinapatha in different ways. Generally it means 'South' or 'Road to the South' In Rigveda we across the word 'Daksinapada' meaning 'with southward face foot.' Here this term is used with reference to the accused who banished in exile. (RV. V.61.8, V 91. 337). This is fact is not the Daksinapatha or Southern India as we understand it. Panini mentioned Daksinatya not with the least geographical implication. (IV.2.98). Baudhayana speaks of Daksinapatha coupled with Surastra(Bau. Su. 11.29). The great epic Mahabharata also places Daksinapatha in the region beyond Vindhyas and Avanti and to the Vidarbha and Kosala.(MBh.III.61.23).

123. KM, p. 283.
The five mountains of Daksināpatha viz. Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Mekala and Palamānjara in modern terms, as noted above, are Mahendra malei, Travancore hills and the southernmost part of the western Ghats, Sahyadri, Amarakaṅkaka and Pāla mountains near Mahāda, respectively.

Now let us try to locate the regions mentioned as lying in the Daksināpatha. These are: Kosala, Tosala, Kalinga, Kosala, Dramidha, Andhra, māhārāstra, Vainna and Vanavāsaja. Let us now try to identify these geographical names with their counterparts in modern Indian geography.

1. **Kosala**: There are two regions bearing the name Kosala, one in the north and the other in the south. We are concerned here with the Kosala of Daksināpatha. Shri N.L. Dey identifies Kosala of Daksināpatha with Gondwana, including the eastern portion of the central provinces and its capital was Ratnāpura in the eleventh or twelfth century.

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124. NS 13.40.
125. GD, p. 103.
Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri identifies this country with the modern Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region of M.P. and Orissa.

126. Shri H. C. Chakaldar on the authority of the Mahābhārata says, "The Kosala country was divided into three separate countries. We read of the Utāra Kosalas as having been vanquished by Dharma and that Sahadeva defeated the kings of the Eastern Kosalas in the south near the Venice or Waligahā (Sabhā-Ch. XXXI, vs. 12-13) The Eastern Kosalas must have gone there in the south out of the fear of Jarasandha of Magadha as we are told in a previous chapter (ib. Ch. XIV, vs. 27-28) In the Asvamedhaparva we are told that Arjuna defeated the Pundras and the Kosalas near the coast of the eastern ocean (Ch. LXXXII, vs. 29 and 30; Bang. Ed.). These Kosalas must have been the southern or the Dakshin-Kosala which comprised the upper valley of the Mahānadi with its tributaries and seems at times to have included a much larger area, now forming the eastern districts of the Central Provinces and the tributary states of Orissa, (Vincent Smith in the JRAS, 1914, p. 331). This Southern Kosala is evidently referred to in the 'Kosalakā-mahendra included among the Dakṣiṇapatha rājas vanquished by Samudragupta and 'captured and liberated' by him. (Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 7). This is also mentioned in the Ajamata inscription (Arch. Surv. of West India Vol. IV, p. 127), in the copper plate charter of Mahāsīvagupta (JASB, 2nd series, Vol. I, p. 24), besides other inscriptions. In the Brhat Samhita of Varāhamihira, the Northern Kosala is not mentioned at all, but he places Kosala in the South-East (Ch. XIV, vs. 9). (Geog. of Kālidāsa, p. 32).

Shri D. R. Bhandarkar gives an interesting view on this point. He says, "We know that Utāra-Kosala, with its capital of Saketa or Ayodhya, was ruled by the Ikṣvākus, and it seems that when the Ikṣvākus spread themselves southwards, their new province also was called Kosala, dakshina being also applied to it to distinguish it from their original territory which therefore became Utāra-Kosala (Dakshin-). Kosala was certainly well known in the fourth century A.D., as it is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta and included in the Dakṣiṇapatha." (Lectures on the Ancient History of India, p. 16-17, fn. 4.)
2. **Tosala** This country is identified by Dr. D.C. Sircar as the district round the city of Tosali (modern Dhauli near Bhubaneswar in the Puri Dist. Orissa). In the early medieval period Tosala Janapada is known to have been divided into Uttara Tosala and Daksīṇa Tosala. The editors of GBAAMI also agree with this identification.

Dr. D.C. Sircar believes that "the name Dhauli appears to have sprung from Tosali through the intermediate forms of Tohali and Dhoali." Tosali is mentioned as the head-

127. NS 13.40.
128. SGAMI, p.34 fn.4.
129. GBAAMI, p.101
130. The successors of Sātavāhanas, p.30

However, Shri N.L. Dey identifies it with ancient Kosala. He says, "It has been identified by Wilford with the Tosala-Kosalaka of the Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa (Ch.51) and simply Kosalaka or Kosala of the Brihat Saṁhitā (JASB, 1838, p.449). It appertained to Dakshina-Kosala or Condwana at the time of Aśoka.

Tosali is the Tosalei of Ptolemy. The Kosalanga or Kosala-Gāṅa of Kittoe, which is the name of a tank near the Dhauli hill, confirms the statement that Tosali was the ancient Kosala." (G,p.205) It is to be noted here that though Bharata puts this country into DP, Rājaśekhara includes this country among the Eastern countries of Indā.(KK, p.293)
3. **Kalinga** General Cunningham identifies this region as 'the Northern Circars, a country lying on the south of Orissa and north of Dravida on the border of the sea. It was between the Godāvari river on the south west and the Gaoliya branch of the Indrāvatī river on north west'. Rapson places this region between the Mahānadi and the Godāvari.

4. **Mosalai** Dr. M.M. Ghosh identifies this as the older name of Masulipattanam in Andhra.

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131. Asoka, pp.46-47.
132. NS 13.40, 45; 21.IXX 112.
134. Anc. Ind.p.164.
135. NS 13.40.

Shri N.L. Dey agrees with the identification made by Shri Cunningham and further states that, "Its chief towns were Manipura, Rajapura or Rajamahendri (M. Bh. Adi.Ch.216, Sānti,Ch.4). At the time of Mahābhārata a large portion of Orissa was included in Kalinga, its northern boundary being the river Baitarnī. It became independent of Magadha shortly after the death of Asoka in the third Cent. B.C. and retained its independence at least up to the time of Kanishka."

The reading adopted in the GOS edition viz. यवनः सत्ता: is obviously inappropriate here. We should adopt the reading of the च ms. Which says 'Evamosalāh'. This reading is accepted by Dr. M.M. Ghosh. (NS Vol.I Text 14.38, p.35.)
In NS this is referred to as a country of Daksināpatha.

5. *Dramida*: It should be Dravida or Dramila. According to Dr. E. L. Set Dramila was the Dravida country of the Pallavas on the east coast. Kāncī was its capital. Shri N. L. Dey identifies Dravida as 'part of the Deccan from Madras to Seringapatam and Cape Comorin, the country south of the river Pennar or rather Tripati. Its capital was Kāncīpura. It was also called Chola. At the time of Mahābhārata its northern boundary was the Godāvari. Sometimes the name Dravida or Dravida is used to indicate the whole of South India.

6. *Andhra*: According to the editors of the Gāndhī, "It is generally identified as the country between the Godāvari and the Kṛṣṇa. Dhanakataka, modern Dezwada, was its Capital." Shri C. D. Dalal agrees with this identification but says that "Pratiṣṭhānapura was its capital."

137. NS 13.40; 21.110.
139. GD, p. 57.
141. GBMI, p. 23.
142. KM., p. 291.
7. **Maharashtra.** M S mentions this name with Andhra as the name of a country. This name is not found in the Vedic literature as well as in the Epic literature. It was a large kingdom in Huen Tsang's time - during the 7th Cent. A.D. Paithana or Pratisthana was it capital. It is mentioned by Ptolemy as Baithana and by the author of the 'Periplus' as Plithana.  

Shri N.L. Dey is of the opinion that "At one time it was synonymous with the Deccan. At the time of Asoka the country was called Maharaththa, he sent here the Buddhist missionary named Mahadhammarakkhita in 245 B.C. Its ancient name was Assaka or Assaka at the time of Buddha. Its ancient capital was Pratisthana (Paithana) on the Godavari. It was the capital of the junior princes of the Andhrabhrtya dynasty of the Puranas, who were also called Satakarsis or in the corrupted form of the word Saliyahanas."  

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143. NS 13.40.  
144. quoted by Cunningham, AGI, pp. 466-7.  
145. GD, p. 118.
The earliest available reference to Mahārāṣṭra can be found in c. 245 B.C. when the Mauryan Emperor Aśoka sent his Buddhist missionary Mahādharmarākṣita to this country. In the time of Aśoka the country was known as Mahāratṭha.  

8. Vaiṇṇā. Vaiṇṇā is explained by the editor of the NS of GOS, Vol. II, as Kṛṣṇā Pīṅkini vīravāsinah i.e. inhabitants on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā Pīṅkini. Vaiṇṇā seems to be the same as Varna. According to Rājaśekhara this is river in South India. It source being the Sahya mountain, it may be identified either with the river Kṛṣṇā or Bena which is a branch of the Kṛṣṇā and rises from the Western Ghats. Here we have to understand the regions lying near this river.

9. Vanaśaṣaja. Shri K.L. Dey identifies this region with the North Kanara. According to

147. NS 13:40
148. NS Vol. II, p. 208
149. KM, p. 307.
150. NS 13:40.
him, 'north Kanara was called by this name during the Buddhist period.' Shri C. D. Dalal agrees with this identification. According to Dr. Mühler it was situated between the Ghāts, the Tungabhadra and the Baradā.

There is also a town of Vanavāsī, on the left bank of the Baradā river, which has been described in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, as a place which has for a girdle the rose of swans that sport on the light waves of the river Baradā.

From these identifications we can say that all these regions lie in Dakṣiṇāpatha i.e. the region between the Vindhya and Capācomorin.

Now let us see the geographical identifications of the countries in which the Avanti style was prevailing. These are: Avantika, Vaidesīka, Saurāstra, Mālava,

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151. GD, p.
152. KM, p.307.
153. Vikramāṅkadevacarita, Introduction, p.34.
Saindhava, Sauvīra, Ānarta, Arbudeyaka, Dasārṇa, Traipura and Mārttikāvata (Vaimānikāvata or Vaivartikāvata).

1. Āvantika:155 The region and the kingdom of Avanti was well known in early literature e.g. in the Mahābhārata and the Pāli literature. The Māhābhārata locates Avanti on the river Narmadā in western India. In the Virāṭa Parva (1.12) Arjuna mentions Avanti along with other kingdoms in Western India viz. Surastra and Kunti.156 According to Puranic tradition this Janapada seems to owe its name to a king named Avanti.157 This was one of the four monarchies during the time of Buddha. It is also mentioned among the 16 great Janapadas158 Its earliest reference is found in the Astādhyāyī of Pāṇini.159

Shri B. C. Law identifies it with the country north of the Vindhyā mountains.

155. NS 13.37,42.
156. Quoted by the editors of GBAaM I p.40.
157. Ibid.
158. Anc. India (Rapson) p.213.
159. Panini, IV.1.176.
160. SBP, p.22.
and north east of Bombay roughly corresponding to modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining parts of the central provinces.

Shri N. L. Dey identifies it with Ujjain, the capital of Malwa, which was the kingdom of Vikramādiśya. Shri D. C. Sircar agrees with this identification.

According to Shri D. R. Bhandarkar, Avanti was divided into two parts: Northern part with its capital at Ujjain and the Southern one in Daksināpatha with its capital Māhiṃmati. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri does not accept this view.

This country retained its name at least as last as second century A.D., as can be seen from the Rudrāman's inscriptions at Naraḍa. 165

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162. SGA, p.90.
163. BCL, p.54.
164. PHAL, p.122, fn.4.
2. **Vaidesika:** The region round about Vidisa. This is identified by Shri N.L. Dey as 'Bhilasa in Malawa in the kingdom of Bhopal, on the river Betwa or Vetravati about 26 miles to the north east of Bhopal.

Vidisa was the capital of the Daśārṇa country situated on the river Vetravati. According to Dr. M.A. Singh Vidisa must have been a part of the empire of Chandragupta Maurya, for the Junaśad inscription of Rudradāman has recorded that the famous Sudarśana lake in Surāśṭra was built by Tusāspa the provincial governor of Chandragupta Maurya. Asoka, before his accession, was a viceroy of Ujjainī. Devī, wife of Asoka, mother of Mahendra and Sanghamitra, was born in Vidisa. With the downfall of the Mauryas Vidisa, like other parts of the Mauryan empire passed into the hands of the Śūngas. The Mālavikāgnimitram refers Agnimitra as a king of Vidisa. The Garuḍa Purāṇa refers to the prosperity of the city.¹⁶⁹

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¹⁶⁶. NS 13.82.
¹⁶⁷. GD, p.35.
¹⁶⁸. CSGDEP, p.341.
¹⁶⁹. CSGDEP, p.341.
3. **Saurāstra**: Saurāstra is the modern Saurāstra which corresponds with Syrastrene of Ptolemy. According to Shri N.L. Dey the name was applied to the country from Sindhu or the Indus to Broach i.e. Gujarat, Kutch and Kathiāwār (Rāmāyana, Bālakaṇḍa, Ch. 30).

Saurājya was a synonym of Saurāstra (JASB, 1873, p. 105).

We come across this name in Buddhist, Jain, epic and Purānic literature of ancient India. The *Arthasastra* of Kautilya refers to the republic of the Surastra which belonged to the 'nation-in-arms' class.

4. **Mālava**: This can be roughly identified with modern Mālava in M.P. Shri D.C. Sircar is of the opinion that the great country of Mālava is described as lying to the east of Avanti and to the north of the Godāvari. The second identification of this country given by Shri N.L. Dey is "The country of the Mālava or Kallas, the capital of which was Multan (Mah. Sabha P. Ch. 32.)"

170. NS 13. 42.
171. GD, p. 183.
172. quoted by Dr. M.R. Singh, CSGDEP, p. 322.
173. NS 13. 12.
174. SGAmI p. 92.
175. GD, p. 122.
Patanjali refers to the republics of the republik Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas. At one place the Mahābhārata clearly mentions that the Mālavas, Bhadras, Rohitakas and Agreyas were republics.

From the Nālikcave inscription of Uṣavadāta we know that the power of Nāhāpāna and his allies Uttamabhadras was threatened by the Mālavas (Mālavas).

5. Saindhava: In the HS this is mentioned with Sauvīra. In Purāṇas and several other texts refer to the Sindhu-Sauvīras by a single appellation. Shri N.L. Dey identifies it with the country of Sindh. Dr. V. S. Agrawal says, "Sindh was originally the name of the river, while gave its name to the whole country. Sindh as a Janapada may be identified with Sindh-Sāgara-Doab, the region between Jhelum and Indus. Shri D.C. Sircar is of the opinion that

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176. Quoted by Dr. M. R. Singh, CSGDEP, p. 370.
177. Ibid.
178. Ibid.
179. NS. 13.42.
180. CSGDEP, p. 149.
181. GD, p. 186.
182. IKP, 518.
183. SGAMI, p. 107.
the ancient Sindhudesa lay to the west of the lower Indus and was not exactly the same as modern Sindh."

6. **Sāuvirā**<sup>184</sup> This was the neighbouring country of Saindhava. In Purāṇas and other works it is associated with Saindhava. This is identified by General Cunningham<sup>185</sup> with Idar of S.K. District, which was Badari of the Buddhist period at the head of the Gulf of Cambay. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī<sup>186</sup> is of the opinion that "Sindhu-Sāuvir like Ākarvanti are usually found together. Sindhu is the modern Sindh and Sauvīra may have been part of Upper Sindh, the capital of which was Dattamitri, perhaps from Dattamitra (Demetrius), king of Sauvīra." Dr. Rhys Davids<sup>187</sup> places Sauvīra to the north of Kathiawar and along the Gulf of Kutch. Alberuni<sup>188</sup> identifies it with Multān and Jahrawār. Shri N.L. Dey<sup>189</sup> agrees with the identification of Alberuni.

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<sup>184</sup> NS 13.42.  
<sup>185</sup> AGI, p.420.  
<sup>186</sup> Early Hist. of Guj.p.36.  
<sup>187</sup> Buddhist India, p.320.  
<sup>188</sup> Alb. India, Vol.1, pp.300,302.  
<sup>189</sup> GD, p.183.
Shri D. C. Sircar\textsuperscript{190} is of the opinion that "Sauvīra country seems to be placed to the west of Sāurasena and to the east of Kanthaka and is called the worst of all countries. Ancient Sauvīra was situated to the East of the Lower Indus and included Mūltan in the North. Sāurasena, i.e. the Mathūra region, was far to the east. Kanthaka cannot be satisfactorily identified; but it reminds us of the Kathaioi tribe located by the classical authors between the Jhelum and the Chinab. Or can the intended reading be 'Kacchakāt pasčīme', to the west of Kutch?"

Dr. M. R. Singh\textsuperscript{191} on the authority of the Purāṇas states that 'The Sauvīrashad occupied the extensive territory along the Indus reaching the desert in the east, beyond which lived the Abhīras and the Mātseyas. Taking into consideration all the evidence together, it can be said that the Sauvīra country was bounded on the west by the Indus, on the east by the Rajasthan desert. In the south it extended up to the sea and in the north included Mūltan and extended up to the river Rāvi.'

\textsuperscript{190} Studies in the Geog. of Ancient and Medieval India, P. 106. (SGAMI).
\textsuperscript{191} CSGDEF, pp. 152-153.
7. **Arbudeyaka**: The region around Mt. Abu in Rajasthan State.

8. **Anarta**: This is mentioned in *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas. It received its name from an anonymous ancestor Anarta, son of Saryāti. Dr. A. S. Altekar says that the exact identification, location, and boundaries of Anarta are vague both in literary and epigraphic references.

Anarta is Gujarat north to the Sabarmati river or as far according to some authorities north of the river Narmada. In *Mahābhārata* and other *Purāṇas*, sometimes Saurāstra, but as the NS mentioned Saurāstra separately we should take it as roughly North Gujarat. It may be noted that Lāta is not mentioned in the NS. Therefore, we may guess that it may either be included in Anarta or more probably Saurāstra.

9. **Dasārṇa**: Shri N. L. Dey and the Editors of *GEAAMI* derive the meaning of this word as

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192. NS 13.42.
193. NS 13.42.
196. NS 13.43.
197. *GD*, p. 54 and *GEAAMI*, p. 105.
"the country having ten forts". Dr. B. L. braces believes that the name Dasārṇa is derived from the river Dasārṇa which is modern Bhasan near Saugor flowing between the Betwā and the Ken. Mahābhārata mentions two countries of this name. (i) one on the west, conquered by Nakula (Sabhā P. Ch. 32.7) and the other (ii) on the east, conquered by Bhima (Sabhā P. Ch. 30). Shri N. L. Dey identifies this thus: "Eastern Malwa, including the kingdom of Bhopāl, was western Dāsārṇa, the capital of which was Vidisa or Bhilsā. It is mentioned in Kalidāsa's Meghadūta (Pt. I, vs. 25-26). Its capital at the time of Ashoka was Gaitagiri or Chetiyagiri. Eastern Dāsārṇa formed a part of the Chhatisgarh (thirty-six forts) district in the central provinces including the native states of Patna."

10. Tripura. This was the region round the city of Tripuri. This city traditionally belonged to the three Asuras, Tāraka, Kamalaksa and Vidyunmālī. According to Mahābhārata, the city was captured by Sanadeva and Karna in course of their conquests. Shri D. C. Sircar states that it was included in Kamarupa (GD, p. 206).
identifies it with modern Tewar in Jabalpur district.

Dr. K. R. Singh says Irupuri has been mentioned in the Mahāmāyuri and has been identified with modern Tewar in Jabalpur. Irupuravisaya was a Brāhmi of the Gupta empire.

The Ratanpur stone inscription of the Chedi year 866 informs us that Irupuri was ruled by one of the eighteen sons of the Chedi ruler named Kokalla.

11. Martlkavatas Shri N.L. Dey identifies it with the country of the Sohas by the side of the Parṇasā (Banās) river in Malaya, while Dr. K. M. Ghosh is of the opinion that 'some times it is identified with Merta in Rājasthān'.

From all these regions identified with modern geographical names, we can say

203. GSGDF, p. 346.
205. NS 13.43. The other reading is Vaimānikavata or Vaivartikavata.
206. GD, p. 137.
that they cover practically the whole of Western India. This was the region as noted above, in which, the Avanti style prevailed.

Now let us identify the countries in which the Odramagadhi style prevailed. These are: Anga, Vaṅga, Utkaliṅga, Vatsa, Odramagadha, Paundra, Nepalaka, Antargira, Bahirgira, Plavaṅgama, Malada, Kallavartaka, Brahmuttara, Bhārgava, Mārgava, Prājjyotisa, Pulinda, Vaidheha, Tamalipatka, Prāṅga, and Prāvṛti. It is also stated that this style was also prevailing in the other countries described in Purāṇas as Prācyā or eastern.

1. Anga: It was one of the sixteen mahājanapadas at the time of the Buddha mentioned in Pāli literature. Prof. Rhys Davids identifies this country thus: The Āṅgas dwelt in country to the east of Magadha, having capital at Campś, near modern Bhagalpur. Its boundaries are unknown. Shri D.R. Bhāndarkar agrees with this identification.

Shri D.C. Sircar is of the opinion that, "The country is supposed to have comprised

208. NS 13.45; 21.112.
210. AHI, p.194.
211. SGAM, p.83.
the present Mānghyr and Ṣāgālpur Districts of Bihār excluding the parts lying to the north of the Ganges. Its capital was Cempā situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Cempā (modern Candān) Shri N. L. Dey and the editors of the GEAAM agree with this identification.

2. **Vaṅga**. This name is not included in the sixteen nāhājanapadas referred to in U. Rāmatu texts. But in Jain Bhagavati sūtra (otherwise called Wyākhyā-Prajñāpāti) the said name is there in one of the sixteen great countries. Shri C. D. Dalai is of the opinion that, "The name Vaṅga is only applied to the eastern portion of the delta of the Ganges on the coast of the Bay of Bengal."

Shri D. C. Sircar agrees with this identification and says "The country Vaṅga is described as extending from the Sea as far as the Brahmaputra. The Sea is no doubt the Bay of Bengal in the south and Brahmaputra, the northern boundary, seems to indicate that portion of the river which bifurcates from

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212. GD, p.
214. N. L. Dey, pp. 21, 112.
216. SGAM, p. 84.
the Jamna. Vaiga, therefore, included the eastern part of the Sundarbans in the South and half of the Sylhet District in the north." Shri M.L. Dey identifies this country with Bengal. He believes that this was a country separated from Pundra, Suhma, and Tamralipta at the time of the Mahabharata. (Sahih p. Ch. 29).

3. **Utkalinga**: The G.C.S., Kavyamala and Kasi Sanskrit Series editions of the NS repeat Kalinga here, which was mentioned as one of the Dakshinapatha regions. I have taken this reading from MG's edition. Dr. M.K. Ghosh is of the opinion that "Utkalinga is the older name of the later Utkala. This occurs in the Brahma Purana." Shri C.D. Delal identifies Utkala with Orissa or the northern part of the Kalinga country.

4. **Vatsa**: This was one of the sixteen Mahajanapas of northern India during the time of the Buddha.

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217. GD, p. 22.
218. NS 13.45; 21.112; NS (MH), 13.39; NS (KSS), 14.43.
219. NS MG text Part I 14.42.p. 35.
221. Kah, p. 283.
222. NS 13.45.
Shri N.L. Dey\textsuperscript{224} identifies it with the country to the west of Allāhabād and states that its capital was Kausāmbī. According to Shri B.C. Law,\textsuperscript{225} 'the country of Vatsa was very rich and prosperous and noted for the high quality of its cotton fabrics. Kausāmbī, which was its capital, is now represented by the village of Kusum on the right bank of the Yamunā. We know that many stories are woven round about the king Vatsaraṇa of Udayana of this country.'

5. \textit{Oḍrāmaṇḍa:}\textsuperscript{226} This seems to contain two regions namely Oḍra and Māgadhā. They must have been looked upon as a single unit at the time of the \textit{NS}. Oḍra is identified with Orissa by Shri N.L. Dey\textsuperscript{227} and Dr. H.M. Ghosh.\textsuperscript{228} Māgadhā is identified with the province of Bihār or properly south Bihār by Prof. Rhys Davids\textsuperscript{229} and Shri N. L. Dey.\textsuperscript{230}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{224} GD, p. 23.
\item \textsuperscript{225} Age of Imperial Unity, p. 9.
\item \textsuperscript{226} NS 13.37, 21.112.
\item \textsuperscript{227} GD, p. 142.
\item \textsuperscript{228} NS Eng. Trans. Vol. I (Revised Second Edn.) p. 427.
\item \textsuperscript{229} B.I. p. 14.
\item \textsuperscript{230} GD, p. 116.
\end{itemize}
Shri D.C. Sircar agrees with this identification.

According to Parāśara and Varāhamihira, Magadha is situated in the eastern division of the nine portions into which the whole subcontinent of India is divided. Cunningham states that "Magadha was bounded by the Ganges on the north, by the district of Benāres on the west, by Hiranyaparvata or Monghyr on the east, and by Kīraṇa Sauvarana or Singhbhum on the south." He further infers that in ancient times Magadha must have extended to the Karunasa river on the south. Rhys Davids differs in stating the western boundary of Magadha. He states, "The Magadhas, as is well known, occupied the district now called Behār. It was

231. SGAM, pp.99-100.

The ancient capital of this country was Girivrajapur (modern Rajgir) at the time of Jarāsandha, who was killed by Bhīma. The capital was subsequently removed to Pātaliputra. The country of Magadha extended once south of the Ganges from Benares to Monghyr and southward as far as Singhbhum. (C.D.p.116).

232. Quoted by Cunningham, AGI, p.5.
233. Ibid.p.383.
234. Ibid.p.383
probably then bounded to the north by the 
Ganges, to the east by the river Campā, on 
the south by the Vindhya mountains, and on 
the west by the river Sona. " Prof. Rapson states that Magadha or Southern Behār comprises 
the districts of Gaya and Patna. It was the 
kingdom of the greatest political importance 
in the history of Ancient and Medieval India. 
Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri places Magadha to 
the west of Maga and says that it was 
separated from the latter kingdom by the 
river Campā. According to this scholar, 
Magadha corresponds roughly to the present 
Patna and Gaya districts of Bihar.

6. Patna. Shri N. L. Dey identifies this 
with the modern Districts of Santal Paraganas 
and Birbhum and the north portion of the 
Hazaribagh District.

236. Ancient India, p. 166.
237. PHI, p. 53.
238. Ibid. p. 56.
239. NS 13.45
240. GD, p. 154.
7. **Nepāla.** Ṛajasekhara includes Nepāla in the list of countries of eastern India. Shri D.C. Sircar says, 'the Nepāla country to the north of Bihar and Uttar pradesh is well known.'

8. **Antārgirā.** On the strength of MBh. Shri D.C. Sircar locates Antārgirā and Sahiragirā towards the north of Prājyotisa (Assam). Shri S.M. Ali identifies Antirigirā as "the hilly country between the Rājmahāl and Hazārībāgh ranges."  

9. **Sahirāgirā.** As stated in case of Antārgirā, Shri D.C. Sircar, on the strength of MBh. locates this country toward the north of Prājyotisa (Assam). Shri S.M. Ali identifies this country as "the region beyond the Hazārībāgh range i.e. the basin of the Damodar."

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241. RS 13.45.
243. SGAIV, p.97.
244. RS 13.45.
245. SGAIV, p.27 Fn.6.
246. GP, p.152.
247. HVS 13.45.
248. SGAM, p.27. Fn.6.
249. GP, p.152.
Shri N.L. Dey\textsuperscript{251} identifies this with "a portion of the District of Snāhbād and states that it is mentioned as eastern countries conquered by śhīma (ibth. Sabha P. Ch. 29)." Shri C.D. Dalal\textsuperscript{252} agrees with this identification. Shri S.M. Ali\textsuperscript{253} states that "This Janapada corresponds to the tract which extended between the Barind forest and the Gāṅga and included the present Malda district of Bengal as well as the districts of Rājshāhī and west Dināpur of East Pakistan."

Shri C.D. Dalal\textsuperscript{254} states that "Rājasekharā mentions this among the eastern countries. This, therefore, cannot be identified with either malladesa or multān, or Rāla or the country inhabited by the Mallōcis of the Greek historians, since we have to seek for its identification." He further states that "it is, therefore, probable that the mallavartaka represents the country in

\begin{tabular}{ll}
250. & NS 13.45. \\
251. & GD, p. 122. \\
252. & KM, p. X \\
253. & GP, p. 151. \\
254. & NS 13.46. \\
255. & KM, p. 302. \\
\end{tabular}
which Mallaparvata or Parsvanatha Hills are situated, namely the portion now forming the districts of Hazaribagh and Manbhum in the province of Bihar and Orissa. Dr. M.M. Ghosh agrees with this identification.

Dr. M.M. Ghosh reads this as Pravangā and says that this is the region beyond Vaṅga, but Shri D.C. Sircar finds it difficult to identify, as the name is not correct. However, Shri A.C. Law identifies Pravangas with Angas and states that they may be Angas."

In Purāṇas this name is mixed with Suhmottara. Shri C.D. Dalal identifies it with the northern portion of the Brahma country or the upper Burma and states that "the Brahma country included both the upper and lower Burma." Shri D.C. Sircar agrees with this identification.

256. Ibid.
257. NS Vol. I English Trans. (Revised Second Edn.) p. 248
Fn. 43.46/4.
258. NS 13.46.
259. NS Vol. I English Trans. (Revised Second Edn.) p. 248
Fn. 43.46/2.
260. SGALI, p. 299.
261. CE, p. 150.
262. NS 13.46.
263. KA, p. 299.
264. SGALI, p. 28. Fn. 5.
14. **Bhārgava**. This was the country of Bhārgavas. They are referred to in Brahmanas and Upaniṣads. They are also referred to in Mahābhārata and Purāṇas. The editors of the GEAAMI say that the Mahābhārata talks of the Bhārgavas in the west of India, the country around the Gulf of Cambay in or near Anarta which comprised the river Narmadā and Mount Vaiḍūrya. But they were driven out of that territory by the Haihayas and settled in the region round Gadhinagar (Kānyakūṭa) and probably spread up to Vatsa and Kārūsa.

15. **Mārgava**. Unidentified.

16. **Prājñātopāiśā**. Shri C. D. Dalal identifies this with Kāmarūpa or Kāmakhyā in Assam. Shri B. C. Law agrees with this identification and states that "the kingdom included not only the Kāmarūpa country but also a considerable portion of North Bengal and perhaps of North Bihar," while Shri D. C. Sircar precisely...
states that "it is modern Gauhati area of Assam and the adjoining region." 273.

17. **Pulindat** 276 On the authority of the Tārā-Tantra, Shri N.L. Dey 275 locates this country to the east of Silahatta (Sylhet) and to the north of Kāmarūpa. Shri D.C. Sircar 276 agrees with the identification but puts this country to the south of Kāmarūpa.

18. **Vaidehaï** 277 Shri N.L. Dey 278 identifies this with Tirhut in Bihar. Shri D.C. Sircar agrees with this identification and says, "it also called Tirabhukta or Tairabhukti, and is described as extending from the banks of the Gāndakī as far as the Camparanya ... ... the name Tārabhukti still survives in the modern form Tirhut. It is the same as Darbhanga [Muzaffarpur]

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273. SGAMI, p. 28, fn.7.
274. NS 13.47.
276. SGAMI, p. 104
277. NS 13.47.
278. GD, p. 13.47.
region of upper Bihār to the north of the Ganges. 279

19. Tamalipta: 280 This should be identified with the region round about the town of Tamluk. According to Shri M.L. Dey 281 Tamluk was formerly on the mouth of the Ganges, but is now situated on the western bank of the Adhamganga river formed by the united stream of this Silai (Silavati) and Kisor Dvārakesvari in the District of Midnapur in Bengal. Tamluk was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Suhma in the 6th century of the Christian Era. It formed a part of the Magadha Kingdom under the Mauryas (Smith, Asoka, p. 69). Shri D.C. Sircar 282 and B.C. Law 283 agree with the identification made by Shri N.L. Dey.

279. SGAMI, p. 94. Shri B.C. Law gives detailed information of this region. He says, "The capital of Videha country was Mithilā ruled over by a king named Janaka, and celebrated in both the epics, especially in Rāmāyana. Mithilā is identified by Cunningham with a small town called Janakpur not far from the Nepalese border where the two districts Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur meet. (Arch. Surv. Rep., XVI, 34 and map) The Videha country is thus identical with the northern districts of North Bihār. (see CR, p. 153).

280. NS 13. 47
281. GD, p. 203.
282. SGAMI, p. 29.
20. **Prāṇga**

21. **Prāryū:**

22. The Prācyā countries described in the Purāṇas identify the Prācyā countries thus "the 'Prācyā' or 'Eastern Country' of the Purāṇas may be broadly defined as the basins of the lower Gāṅgā and Brahmaputra rivers. The western boundary of this major region may be taken roughly as the course of the river Gandak from the Himalayan foothills to its confluence with the Gāṅgā; then along with the river Son from its mouth, which was formerly near Patnā, to the latitude of Rohtas. Thereafter it followed the crest of the Hazaribāgh Plateau across Bihār and then continued along the South western boundary of the present State of West Bengal to the Sea." The Janapadas of these countries as stated by Shri Ali, are the same as stated above. It therefore, seems that Bharata here is referring to the authority of the Purāṇas for mentioning eastern regions.

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284. NS 13.47.
285. NS 13.47.
286. NS 13.48.
287. GP, p. 148.
The regions in which the Pāñcālī style prevailed are: Pāñcāla, Saurasena, Kaśmīra, Hastināpura, Bāhlika, Šakala, Kadraka and, Śīnarā as well as the regions lying in the Himalayan terrain north to the Ganges.

1. Pāñcāla. 288 Prof. Rhys Davids speaks of two Pāñcālas. He says, "The two Pāñcālas occupied the country to the east of the hārus between the mountains and the Ganges. Their capitals were Kāmpilla and Kāmojī." 289 Shri N.L. Dey identifies this country with Hūhilkhand and says, "Pāñcāla was originally the country north and west of Delhi from the foot of the Himalaya to the river Chambal, but it was afterwards divided into North and South Pāñcāla, a separated by Ganges, the capital of the former was Ahibhattrā and that of the latter was Kāmpīlā." 290 Shri D.C. Sircar agrees with this identification and adds that "Ahibhattrā, capital of north Pāñcāla, has been identified with modern Kāmanagar in the Bareilly District, while Kāmpīlā, which

288. NS 13.37, 49.51.
289. N.L., p. 16.
290. GD, p. 140.
was the capital of south Pāñcāla, has been located at modern Kāmpil in the Farrukhabad Dist. to the south of the Ganges."\(^{291}\)

2. Saurasena:\(^{292}\) We come across this name in Mahābhārata and Purāṇas. The Kurukṣetras, the Kātyāyas, the Pāñcālas and the Sūrasenas comprised the Brahmārṣidesa of manu.\(^{293}\) Following Prof. Rhys Davids\(^{294}\) we may locate this region immediately to the south west of the Macchas and west of Jumna. Shri N.L. Dey\(^{295}\) states that "Mathurā was the capital of the king Śūra, the father of Vasudeva and Kuntī;"

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\(^{291}\) SCAI, p.92.

On the authority of the Divyāvadāna, Shri B.C. Law informs us that the capital of the Uttara Pāñcāla was Hastināpura. He further informs us that the Jātakas and mkt. speak of Kāmpilya. (See G.B.,p.30). So far NS is concerned, as it speaks of Hastināpura as a separate region this question does not arise.

\(^{292}\) NS 13.49; 21.12.

\(^{293}\) CSGDPF, pp.75-76.

\(^{294}\) BI, p.17.

\(^{295}\) GD, p.197.
gave his name to the country of which he was the king." Shri E. C. Law identifies this capital with Kaholi, five miles to the south west of the present town of Mathura in U.P.

3. **Kāśmīra**. This is mentioned in the Purāṇas. Dr. M. N. Singh says, 'The Vāyu, Brahmanda and Markandeya Purāṇas mention this people in Udichya division. The Garūda and Viṣṇudharmottara place them in the north-east. But their association with the Ṛṣisāras shows that the texts point to a wrong direction. The Padma Purāṇa mentions them with the Sindhu-Sauvīras. The Vāyu, Brahmanda and Matsya Purāṇas refer to the river Sindhu as watering the territory. According to the Padma Purāṇa Kāśmīra was famous for its Kumkuma, Uṣira and Cāndana.' Shri M. L. Dey and Shri C. D. Dalal identify this with modern Kāśmīr.

4. **Hastinapura**. In the NS this name is mentioned as a region. It has been known as the capital of the Kuruś in the time of Mahābhārata. Shri M. L. Dey

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297. NS 13.49.
298. CSGDEP, pp. 133-134.
299. GB, p. 96.
301. NS 13.49.
302. GB, p. 74.
puts this capital to the north east of Delhi and states that "it was situated twenty two miles north east of Mirat and South-west of Bijnor on the right bank of the Ganges." Shri C. U. Dalal\textsuperscript{303} agrees with this location.

5. Bahlaka or Vahlika: According to the MS, Bahlaka region forms the part of the northern portion of India. This location is apparently wide and vague. Shri N. L. Dey\textsuperscript{305} identifies this country in two ways: (i) the country between the Bias and the Sutlej, north of Kekaya, (ii) Balkh - the Bactriana of the Greeks, situated in Turkestan. According to him this was another name of Vahlka.

Shri D. C. Sircar\textsuperscript{306} considers Bahlaka and Vahlka as separate regions. According to him, "The Bahlaka country is said to be bordering on Kamboja and situated to the east of Mahā-Meccha. Bahlaka was Bactria (Modern Balkh) in the north Afghanistan; but Vahlka was the old name of the Punjab."

\textsuperscript{303} Km, p. 313

\textsuperscript{304} NS 13.49; 21.111.

\textsuperscript{305} GD, p. 15.

\textsuperscript{306} SGAI, p. 94
Shri G. D. Dalal agrees with the identification made by Shri Dey and states, "Bāhika, Vāhika and Čārtikas are identical with the people of this country." The editors of the GBAAMI also agree with this identification.

Shri S. N. Ali gives a different opinion. He identifies Vāhlika, Vāhlika or Bāhlika with Beluchistan. He says, "Vāhlika has been identified by many scholars with Bactria which is obviously wrong. Bactria belonged to the basin of the Oxus which lies north to the Hindukush and which according to the Purāṇas was in Ketumāla region of the Jambūdvīpa and not in Bhāratavarṣa."

6X 6. Śākala. In Kāvyamālā series the reading is the same but in hāṣa Sanskrit Series edition it is Śalyaka, while in M. K. Ghosh's edition it is Śalvaka. It is presumed that the reading Śalyaka may be a variant of Śalvaka. If we

307. Kk, p. 308
308. GBAAMI, p. 49.
309. GF, p. 142.
310. NS 13.49.
311. NS (Km), 13.44.
312. NS (KS), 14.47.
313. NS(MMG), 14.47.
accept the reading sākala then we may say that it was the capital of the Madradesā (Mbh. Sabhā, Ch. 32). This sākala is identified by Dr. Meet with Sialkote in the Lahore now in Pakistan. If we accept the reading Sālvaka from Sālva, it is identified by Shri N. L. Dey with mārttikāvata, which was near Kurukṣetra. It was the kingdom of the father of Stayavāna, the husband of the celebrated Sāvitri. Its king was Sālva who attacked Dvāravatī. It comprised portions of the territories of Jodhpur, Jaipur and Alwar (see GD, p. 175).

7. Madra. Shri D. R. Bhandarkar identifies this country with modern Sialkot and surrounding regions between Rāvi and Chenāb rivers. He says, "Its capital was Sākala which has been identified with Sialkot." Shri N. L. Dey and Shri D. C. Sircar agree with this identification.

314. NS 13.49.
315. IBJ, Vo. I No. 2. p. 258.
316. Ibid.
318. SGAmi, p. 105.

In Mahābhārata it is stated that Madra was kingdom of king Sālya and also of Ājāśvāpati, father of Sāvitri, the wife of Satyavāna. Some suppose that Madra was also called Bāhika. Shri Dey believes that "Bāhika appears to be the part of the kingdom of Madra(See G, p. 116.)
Usūnara. Panini mentions Usūnara as a part of Vāhika. Dr. V. S. Agrawal states that in Gopatha Brāhmaṇa the Usūnara are regarded as northerners. No such country is mentioned by Shri N. L. Dey, C. D. Dalal, D. C. Sircar or Shri K. L. Dey. Shri K. L. Dey speaks of a Usūnara-giri and identifies it with the Siwalik ranges or the hills at Hardwara, through which the Ganges forces her way into the plains. We may assume that this must be the country around these hills. Shri S. M. Ali speaks of this tribe as referred to in RV.

From these identifications we can say that the Pañcālī style was prevailing in the northern India. These are the regions in which the four Pravṛttis prevailed.

In addition to the regions of the four geographical divisions mentioned above, we may add the following geographical names referred to in other connection. These are: Ābhīra, Barbāra, Gāḍa and Māhiṣa.

319. NS 13.49.
320. quoted by Dr. V. S. Agrawal (IKP, p. 54).
321. Ibid.
322. GD, p. 213.
323. GP, p. 20.
1. **Abhira** \(^{324}\) Shri N.L. Dey\(^{325}\) identifies this region as "the south-eastern portion of Gujarat about the mouths of the Narmada." Shri D.C. Sircar\(^{326}\) is of the opinion that "the Abhira country appears to be placed on the Vindhya between the Koṅkaṇa in the south and the Taṇḍ or Taṇḍī in the north-west." Shri S.I. Ali\(^{327}\) gives some different view. According to him the Abhira country was to the south of Sauvira and practically covered the western part of the Hydrabad district of Sind. The editors of the GBAAM I agree with the identification of Shri Dey.

2. **Barbaras** \(^{329}\) The NS does not mention the Barbaraka as a region, but amongst the tribes, Barbarakas are mentioned. I have, therefore, discussed their geographical location in the section on the Barbaras.

The Purāṇas place the Barbaras on the banks of the Sītā, identified with the

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324. NS 21.68
325. GD, p.1.
326. SGAM, p.91.
327. GP, 144
328. GBAAM I, p.1.
329. NS 17.58; 21.110.
Yarkand river. The Katsya Purāṇa places them on the banks of the Sītā and Chakṣu as well. That the Barbaras lived in the extreme north-west India is also suggested by the Mahābhārata. The name Gauḍa is supposed to be derived from the word 'Gūḍa' meaning 'molasses'. The country of which Gauḍa was the chief city, was also known by the same name possibly because it was famous in ancient times for its production of molasses.

The earliest reference to Gauḍa is seen in the Astādhyāyī of Pāṇini as in Gauḍagura.

Dr. Bhau Daji believed that "All the country south of Aṅga to the Sea was called Gauḍa." Shri N.L. Dey is of the opinion that "The whole of Bengal was denominated Eastern Gauḍa from its capital of the same name, the ruins of which lie near Malda at a distance of about ten miles." It was situated on the left bank of the Ganges." Shri D.C. Sircar also

330. Quoted by Dr. Singh, CSGDF, p.170.
331. NS 21.68.
332. SGAMI, p.111.
333. Pāṇini, VI. 2. 100.
334. Quoted by Shri N.L. Dey (GD, p.63).
335. GD, p.63.
336. SGAMI, p.113.
identifies is the same way and states,
"Originally however the Gauḍa country seems
to have comprised, in an narrow sense, the
present District of Murshidabad together with
the southernmost areas of the Haldia District
of Bengal."

4. Māhiśas. The IS does not mention the region
of Māhiśas but mentions Māhiśas as a tribe.
on the authority of the commentator of the
Arthasāstra Bhāṭṭa Swāmī, Shri N.L. Dey identifies this region as the country of
Māhiṃmatī. Shri C.D. Dalal is of the opinion
that "this was the country on the lower
Narmadā with Māhiṃmatī as its capital." These
additional geographical locations are comprised
in the four broad divisions described above.

If we place the four broad geographical divisions
viz, Dakṣināpatha, Avanti, Oḍrāmagadha and Pāṇcāla in a
map of India, we immediately visualize that it practically
covers the whole of undivided India from the Himalayas
in the north to the Cape Comorin in the South and from

337. NS 21.112.
338. GD, p.120.
the Bay of Bengal in the east to Sindh and Baluchistan in the west. It is stated in the HS that the Daksināpatha covers the regions from the south of the Vindhyas to the Indian Ocean. Daksināpatha is a real geographical unit and therefore the style prevailing in the whole region is properly called Daksinātya. But the same cannot be said about the names of the styles of the other three geographical divisions. Are these three divisions merely to be understood as signifying only the prevalence of the styles or can they have any political significance? Is there an age or ages in the history of India when Odramāgadha or Magadha was a broad political unit? We may raise the same question about Avanti and Pāñcāla. We know that in the age of the Mauryas and the Guptas, Magadha was the central region of their empire and might have included all the different regions mentioned for Oḍramāgadhi style. The same can be said about Avanti which was the central region of their empire in the western part of India. We know that the Viceroy in Avanti ruled over Saurāstra, Mālavā, Saindhava etc. Pāñcāla was a similar region for the north-west. So it may not be quite unreasonable to suppose that the styles derived their names from the politically important regions in which they had their origin and spread, so to say, in adjacent regions under their suzerainty.

As noted above, this state of things might either refer to the Mauryan age or to the Gupta age. If we have
evidence which would enable us to be precise, it might throw light on the age of the NS. Any way the NS reflects the politically important geographical divisions of the Gupta age. Before we end this section let us take note of what Ḫārata has to say about Bhāratavarṣa as a whole.

Amongst the several references to Bhārata or Bhāratavarṣa in the NS, the one in Adhyāya 18 (Verses 98-100) is very significant. While explaining why Bhāratavarṣa out of all the six Varṣas is to be selected even for the adventures and pleasures of gods, Bharata says, "Because the entire land here is charming, sweet smelling and of golden colour." 340 Bharata further says, "In contrast to the other Varṣas, where there is only enjoyment and no pain or sorrow, Bhāratara is a land where all action has its beginning." 341

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341. Ṛṣ 18.100.

The readings in verses 98-100 are more or less confused in all the four editions. One possible interpretation would be that the description of the entire land might have reference to the other Varṣas, but I have followed Dr. M.K. Ghosh in the interpretation given above.
We come across ethnological references mainly in Adhyāyas 12, 13, 20 and 21 of the NS. In Adhyāya 12, while describing the different gaits of various characters in a dramatic representation, Bharata speaks of the Mleccha tribes like Pulinda, Sabaras, etc. In Adhyāya 13, while describing the four Pravṛttis, Bharata mentions countries like Kosala, Tosala, Kalinga, Yavana, Khasa, Dramida, Āndhra, Mahārāṣṭra, Vaiśā and Vanavāsaja; Āvantika, Valīsika, Saurāṣṭra, Mālavē, Saindhava, Sauvīra, Ānarta, Arbudeyaka, Pāśārpa, Tālpura, Mārttikāvata (Vāmānikāvata or Vaiṣvāntikāvata); Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Vatsa, Odramāgadha, Paṇḍra, Nepālea, Antarāgīra, and Bahirāgīra, Plavaṅgama, Malada, Mallavartaṇa, Brahmottara, Bhārgava, Mārgava, Prāggyātisa, Pulinda, Vaideha, Tāmaliptaka, Prāṅga, Pravṛti; Pāncala, Sāurasena, Kāśmira, Hastināpura, Bāhlika, Sakala, Madra and Usinara. These names denote regions as well as the peoples that inhabit them. In Adhyāya 17, which is on Vācikābhīnaya, Bharata describes

1. NS 12.150-51.
3. This double significance is suggested by Pāṇini in his Astādhyāyī, Adhyāya IV, Pāda 2, Sūtras 52-54.
4. NS 17.62-63.
seven principal and seven subsidiary speeches for dramatic representation. In these speeches we get the following names of the peoples: Magadhas, Avantyas, Präcyás, Saurasenas, Bählikas and Daksinâtyas; Sakas, Ābhiras, Cândalas, Sabaras, Dramilas, Andhras and Vanavâsajas.

In Adhyâya 5.20, four styles are described. These are Bhaṭati, Sattvati, Ārabhati and Kaisiki. These names have racial connotation.

In Adhyâya 6.21, dealing with the Ābáryâbhinâya, we get the names of the following tribes and peoples: Ābhiras, Gaudas, Kirātas, Barbaras, Ændhras, Dramilas, Kâsis, KÃ̄sâlas, Pulindas, Daksinâtyas, Sakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, Bählikas, Pã̄nâlas, Saurasenas, Mâhiśas, Odras, Maghadas, Ángas, Vangas and Kalingas.

If we put all these references in a consolidated form we get the following list of peoples and tribes as mentioned in the NS. I arrange them alphabetically for ready reference:

Ābhiras, Ānartas, Ændhras, Ángas, Árabhatas, Arbudayakas, Avantyas, Bählikas, Barbaras, Bharatas, Bhârgavas, Cândalas, Daksinâtyas, Dramilas, Gaudas,

5. NS 2.13-14.
Kāśikas, Kaliṅgas, Kāsīs, Khasas, Kirātas, Kosalas, Magadhas, Māhiyas, Maladas, Mālavas, Mlecchas, Pahlavas, Odras, Pāñcālas, Paundras, Pulindas, Pulksas, Sabaras, Sākalas, Sakas, Saindhavas, Sāttvatas, Saurāstras, Sauvīras, Saurasenas, Usinaras, Vaidisikas, Vanavāsajas, Vaṅgas and Yavanas.

Let us now try to identify and locate these tribes and peoples. Locations of some tribes are specifically mentioned in the NS. Various colours of these tribes are also described in the NS.

1. Ābhīras: This is the well-known tribe of Ancient India, which probably came into prominence for the first time during the age of epics and Purāṇas. In course of time they occupy their independent kingdom.

Shri A.B. Keith says, "This tribe appears to have entered India some time before 150 B.C., when it is mentioned by Patañjali. Its early home was Sindhudēsa, by which is meant not Sindh but the Peshawar district of the Rawalpindi division, where they had as eastern neighbours the Gurjaras. . . . . .

The Ābhīras are recorded in the Mahābhārata as in the Panjab, later they are heard of in Kuruksetra, and their descendants, the

7. NS 17.49, 21.68.
Ahirs, range as far east as Bihār; some went south and settled on the coast to the west of Gujarat; they won considerable fame, and an Ābhīra dynasty is stated in the Vishnu Purāṇa to have succeeded the Andhrabhṛtyas. Both Ābhīras and Gurjaras were probably of the Dardic branch of the Indian race, to judge at least from the strong Dardic element in Lāhnda, the speech of the western Panjab. As they grew in civilization, they must have sought to create a literature; whether they attempted it in their own dialect at first and later produced Apabhraṃśa must remain uncertain; what is clear is that Apabhraṃśa originally was an effort to infuse into Prakrit a measure of their vernacular. 8 Danḍin of the 750 A.D. says "In poems the speeches of Ābhīras and others are known as Apabhraṃśa." 9

According to Greek sources the Ābhīras were on the Indus, north of the Sauvīras, where they gave their name to the Greek Satrapy of Abria." 10

8. History of Sanskrit Literature, pp.33-34.
We have noted, above, the spread of the Ābhīras from the old Peshawar district of the Rawalpindi Division to Bihar in the east and down below to Saurāstra. According to Mahābhārata, Harivamsa and Purāṇas the Ābhīras spread further south as far as Mahārāstra.

In Mahābhārata\textsuperscript{11} and Viṣṇu Purāṇa\textsuperscript{12} the Ābhīras are branded as Dāsyaus and Mlecchas. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar\textsuperscript{13} identifies Ābhīras with Āhīrs of the present day and states "the Āhīrs were such an important tribe that they gave rise to a separate dialect. Thus in Khandesh their dialect is known as Āhirani, which though on the whole resembling the Marathi of that district, has peculiarities of its own to such an extent as to be recognised as a separate dialect." The Āhīrs of Kathiāwād and Kachh also have their own Gujarati dialect.

The earliest inscripational reference to Ābhīras is to be found in the Nasik Cave Inscription of the Ābhīra king Isvarasena, who flourished about the second cent.\textsuperscript{14} A.D. They

\begin{itemize}
\item 12. Viṣṇupurāṇa, Aṇā v., Adhyāya 38.
\item 13. IA. Vol. XL, p. 17.
\item 14. PHAI, p. 418.
\end{itemize}
are also mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.16.

2. Anartas.16 The people of the Anarta country. It is very difficult to identify and locate the boundaries of this region. Generally it is accepted that it signifies North Gujarat and its capital was Anartapura, modern Vadanagara in Mehsana District. We come across this name in Mahabharata and Puranas. According to Puranic tradition Saryati, the son of Vaivasvata Manu, got as his share western India and his son Anarta gave his name to this country.17

Dr. A.E. Dhruva has suggested that the name Anarta was derived from "anṛta", i.e. the region where non-Aryans, who did not follow the sacrificial rules like the Dasyus, live.18 In the Dharmasutras of Baudhāyana certain regions have been regarded as 'Nisiddha' forbidden, in which Anarta is included.

The earliest known epigraphical reference to this people is seen in the Junagadh inscriptions of Rudradaman.19.

16. Select Inscriptions, p. 254
17. GBAAM, p. 21
18. Digdarsana, p. 41
3. **Andhras** 20 The earliest name of this people is given in the Brāhmaṇas. The Ait. Brāhmaṇa speaks of them as the exiled sons of Visvāmitra. The editors of the Vedic Index state, "Andhra is the name of a people, and is mentioned with the Pundras, Sābaras, Pulindas, and Mutibas, as being the outcastes resulting from the refusal of the fifty eldest sons of Visvāmitra to accept his adoption of Śrṅgāsepa. It may fairly be deduced from this statement that those people were recognised non-Āryan." 21 In Mahābhārata they are often mentioned with Sābaras, Pulindas etc. In Vāyu Purāṇa, Andhras are described as the people inhabiting the Dakṣināpatha. The Chinese pilgrim Hieun-Tsang visited the An-to-lo or the Āndhra country. 22 In Pāli Buddhist literature also we come across this tribe. 23

Vincent Smith is of the opinion that the "Andhras were a Drāviḍian speaking people and were evidently the progenitors of the modern Telugu-speaking people occupying the dālta of the Godāvari and the Kṛṣṇā." 24 While Shri D.C. Sircar

20. NS 17.58, 21.110.
22. Quoted by Shri B.C. Law, TIAI, p.166.
23. Ibid. p.167.
is of the opinion that "The Andhra tribe, which had great numerical strength originally lived in the Vindhya region and in the northern part of Deccan, but that it pushed gradually to the South in later times."  

The earliest known epigraphical reference to this people is found in the Rock Edicts of Asoka. He speaks of this people as inhabiting the borderland of his empire.  

4. Anga. The editors of the Vedic Index say that "the name occurs only once in the Atharvaveda (v.22.14) in connection with the Gandhāris, Mījavants and Magadhas, as distinct peoples. They appear also in Gopatha Brāhmaṇa in the compound name Anga-Magadhah. As in later times they were settled on the Sone and the Ganges, their earlier seat was presumably there also."  

25. Corpus Ins. Indica, p.1. Dr. D.R. Shandarkar identifies this region as 'the region between the Kistna and the Godāvari Districts is at present known as the Andhra-desa, that is the country of the Andhras. But whether this was the original home of the people is not clear. (Asoka, p.31).  


In the Jātaka literature Aṅga is included in the sixteen great Janapadas. Prof. Rhys Davids states, "the Aṅgas dwelt in the country to the east of Magadha having their capital at Campā near the modern Bhagalpur."29

From the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas it seems that the country was named after Aṅga, son of king Bali.30 The celebrated king Karna of Mahābhārata was given the kingdom of Aṅga by Duryodhana to rule. He is often known as Aṅgarāja in literature.

The colour of this tribe, as mentioned in the NS, is Syāma - i.e. dark-blue.31

The earliest known reference of this name is seen in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavala.32

5. Ārabhata.33 The NS does not mention this name as a tribe but mentions भम Ārabhaṭi Vṛtti which suggests this tribe or race. Who were these Ārabhataḥ and what was their location is uncertain. Whatever information we get from

30. PHAI, p.93.
31. NS, 21.112.
32. Select Inscriptions, p.209.
33. NS 6.24; 20.14, 64,74; 26.30.
the NS is that they must have been a material race. AG says 'Arabhata is an enterprising and courageous man, a dare devil. Accordingly 'Arabhati is the Vṛttī of such men and their action.' 34.

The style as described in the NS is forceful and violent. It consists of scenes of anger, fight, etc. Persons connected with this style are called Dhiroddhaja. It is the style depicting the Randra and the Bhayānaka Rasas. 35

While describing the four Nyāyas, the NS mentions Bharata, Sāttvata, Kaisika and Varṣaganyā. In this, according to Dr. Raghavan, the last corresponds to the Arabhata. 36

6. Arbudevakasī 37 The name is not mentioned in the Vedic Index. In Epics and Purānas we come across this name. They must be the people

34. NS Vol.II. p.103.
35. NS 20.74.
37. NS 13.42.
dwell on and around the Arbuda mountain which is generally identified with a modern Mt. Abu, which is the Southern of the Arvalli hills. The Puranic tradition locates them in the western part of India. Dr. Singh says, "There are eight Purānas, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Markandeya, Vaṁana, Viṣṇu, Kūrma and Brahma, which mention this people in Aparānta division." 38

We come across this name in the Nagaur stone Inscription of the rulers of Mālaya. 39

7. Avantyas: 40 The people of Avanti. This tribe, as stated by Dr. B. C. Law 41 was a Kṣatriya tribe. The name of this tribe is not found in the Vedic literature. Pāṇini refers to Avanti in one of his sūtras. 42 In the time of Mahābhārata and Purāṇas the tribe is seen to have emerged as one of the most powerful tribes of the Kṣatriyas. In the Virātāparva, Arjuna mentions

38. CSGDEP, p. 325.
40. NS: 13, 37, 42.
42. Pāṇini, IV. 176.
Avanti along with other kingdoms of western India viz. Surāstra and Kuntis. According to the tradition of the Purāṇas this Janapada owed its name to a king named Avanti. The Matsayapurāṇa traces the origin of the Avantis to the Haiyana dynasty of which Kaṁrtavirājuna was the most glorious ruler and adds that Avanti was the name borne by one of the sons of this powerful monarch. The Viṣṇu Dharmottara and the Padmapurāṇa speak of Avanti as one of the Mahājanapadas.

From the references in the Buddhist literature we can say that Avanti was one of the four Monarchies in the days of Lord Buddha.\[43\]

The earliest known epigraphic reference to this name is found in the inscription of Bṛhadādam-I.\[44\]

8. Ṣālikas.\[45\] Bāhlika or Vāhlika is the name of a people who lived in the northerm part of India from very early times. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Bāhlika is the name of

\[43\] The Age Imperial Unity, p. 13.
\[44\] Select Inscriptions, p. 172.
\[45\] NS 13.49, 21.111.
a people in Atharvaveda where the fever (Takman) is called to go to the Mujavants, the Mahāvṛgas and the Bāhlikas. 46

Pāṇini mentions Vāhika in two of his Sūtras. 47

They are also mentioned in Ramayana and Mahābhārata. 48

In the Mādurakṣasa, 49 a drama of Viśākhadatta (9th cent. A.D.) we are informed that the forces of Candragupta and Pārvatesvara were composed of Sākas, Yavanas, Kirātas, Kambojas, Pārasikas, Bāhlikas and others.

I have discussed the geographical location of the country of Bāhlikas in the chapter on Geographical data.

The Editors of the GEAAMI say, "They were a non-Āryan race and perhaps came from Balkh, the capital of Bactria. Bāhi and Hika were names of two Asuras of the Bias river after whom the country was so called."

46. vi, vol ii p. 63
47. Pāṇini, 4 2.17
48. quoted by Aśvāmih GSA DEP, pp 126-127.
49. Mādura, ii, p. 122 (ed. by K.R. Telang)
Bahikas were contemptuous in the public eye, and were compared to cows of Gaurvahikah.\(^50\)

The colour of this people as described in the NS is Gaura i.e. pale red.\(^51\)

The earliest known inscriptional reference of this people is found in the Mehadravali\(^52\) Pillar Inscription of Candra. Who this Candra was, is a vexing problem in Indian History. Generally he is identified with Candragupta-II, Vikramaditya of Gupta Dynasty.\(^53\)

9. **Barbaras**\(^54\) Dr. V.S. Agrawal\(^55\) is of the opinion that the word 'Barbara' is very ancient in Indian literature and belongs to some other language.

Dr. M.R. Singh says, "The Puranas place the Barbaras on the banks of the Sita, identified with the Yarkand river. The Matsya Purana places them on the banks of the Sita and Chaksu as well. That the Barbaras lived

50. GBA4KI, p.49.
51. NS 21.111.
52. Select Inscriptions, p.276.
54. NS 17.58, 21.110.
in the extreme north-west of India is also suggested by the Mahābhārata which describes Karna as defeating the Barbaras along with the Yavanas.  

In the Kavyameemāsā of Rājasekhara the Barbara country is located in the Uttarāpatha.  

General Cunningham states, "It has been contended that the 'Barbaricum' of Periplus is the same as Barbarika of the Dhanavantariya Nighantu, an Ayurvedic work and that it was the city of the Barbaras." Dr. B.C. Law is of the opinion that "The country of the Barbaras seems to have extended to the Arabian Sea, their port was called Barbarika which was probably identical with Barbaricum of the Greek Geographer." Dr. V.S. Agrawal gives some other view. He says, "The country of the Barbaras spread from Egypt to the shores of Atlantic Ocean. Even today the Libian tribe of Northern Africa is known as Barbara... ... ... In the Ancient inscriptions of Egypt racial dignity

56. CSGDBP, p. 170.  
57. KM (GOS), p. 2.  
58. Anc. Geog. of India, pp. 684-95.  
59. GB, p. 145.
is given to the Barbaras.\textsuperscript{60} The learned
scholar further states that the "Language of
the Barbaras is included in the Hamitic
group of languages of Africa and we get many
ancient inscriptions of this language in
Northern Africa."\textsuperscript{61}

The Barbaras seem to have spread in
the Saurāstra peninsula. Southern portion of
Saurāstra is even to day known as Babariawad.\textsuperscript{62}
These Barbaras have a certain importance in
the history of Gujarat. Its famous king Jayasimha
Siddharāja had the title of Barabarakajiaṃu
i.e. the conquerer of the Barbarakas.

The colour of this tribe as described
in the NS is Asita i.e. Brown.\textsuperscript{63}

10. Bharatāś.\textsuperscript{64} The NS does not mention this name
as a tribe but mentions Bhārati Vṛtti which
suggests this tribe or race.

This was the chief and prominent tribe
of the Vedic period. The Editors of the Vedic
Index say, "Bharata is the name of a people of
great importance in the Rigveda and the later literature."\(^{65}\)

Panini also mentions the Janapada of the Bharatas.\(^{66}\) They are the core of the epic poem.\(^{67}\)

According to Dr. K.P. Jayaswal, Bharatas were a nation.\(^{68}\)

We know that the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas belonged this race.

11. Bhārgavas: The editors of the Vedic Index identify Bhārgavas thus. "Descendant of Bhṛgu" and state "is the patronmic of several teachers including Cyavana and Grīsomeda."\(^{70}\) Shri F.R. Pargiter\(^{71}\) agrees with this identification.

Dr. K.N. Munshi states, "The Bhṛgus claim as hoary ancestry as the Mānavas, and certainly a greater sanctity. They claim their descent from Bhṛgu believed to be the son of Varuṇa. Later literature, however, makes him a son of Manu. From the earliest times the Bhṛgus were

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66. IKP., p. 37.
67. Ethnology of Ancient India, p. 29.
69. NS 13.46.
70. VI, Vol. II p. 301.
a powerful tribe, whose priestly importance appears to be as great as their martial prowess.72 We come across this name in Brahmanas, Upaniṣads, Mahābhārata and Purāṇas.

The Mahābhārata73 locates Bhārgavas in the western India, the country around the Gulf of Cambay in or near Anarta which comprised the river Narmada and Mt Vaidūrya. These people were driven over from this country by the Haihayas and settled in the region round Gādhinagar (Kanyakubja) and probably spread up to Vatsa and Karusa.

74 Shri D.C. Sircar on the authority of the Purāṇas locates these people in association with Pragjyotisa, Pundra and Adga, etc. The editors of the GEAAMI state that "Their connection with the eastern countries lead certain scholars to locate them in a part of Assam which is inhabited by the Bharas, while other scholars regard the reading of the Purāṇas incorrect and their location doubtful."75

72. The Glory that was Gurjaradesā, p.50.
73. Quoted in the GEAAMI, p.63.
74. GEAAMI, p.28.
75. GEAAMI, p.63.
12. Candalas. We come across this name in the Vedic literature. In the Chandogya Upanisad the Candala is ranked with the dog and the boar. The editors of the Vedic Index state, "Candala, Candala, are the variant forms of the name of a despised caste, which in origin was probably a tribal body, but which in the Brahminical theory was the offspring of Saura fathers and Brahmin mothers. The references to the caste in the Yajurveda Samhita and in the Upanisads show clearly that it was a degraded one, but they yield no particulars." In Sutra, Smriti and Puranic literature these people are mentioned as lowest among men. In Panini the word occurs in the Kulaladi gana. In Veda-Vyasa-smriti three types of Candalas are mentioned viz. (i) the offspring of a Saura from a Brahmana woman, (ii) the offspring of an unmarried woman, and (iii) the offspring of a union with a Sagotra girl. Manu says "that Candalas and Svapacas should have their

76. NS 17.50,54.
houses outside the village, vessels used by them cannot be used by others (even after putting them in fire), their wealth consists of dogs and asses, their clothes should be the garments on corpses, they should take their food in broken vessels, their ornaments were to be made of iron, they should incessantly roam, they are not to enter towns and villages at night, they have to carry the corpses of persons who have no relatives, they are to be hangmen when the king so orders, they may take the clothes, ornaments and beds of persons that are to be hanged."

The Chinese traveller Fa Hien (405-411 A.D.) has also given a picture of the position of the Cândalas in a Hindu society of that time.

We know that in Bana's Kādambarī, the parrot does not take food from a Cândala woman.


Dr. M.M. Ghosh believes that "They may be members of Kol and other tribes living in the south."

82. Ibid.
83. Recofrd of Buddhist kingdoms by Legge, p.43.
84. NS 21.110.
The colour of this people, as stated in the NS, is 'Asita' i.e. brown. 86.


We do not come across this name in Vedic Literature. The earliest reference to this tribe is seen in the Mahabharata and Manusmrti, where it is accepted as a Ksatriya tribe. In the Manusmrti they are mentioned along with the Aryan Pundarakas and Kambojas and the non-Aryan Yavanas, Saks, Pardas, Pahlavas and Dardars. 88

In Indian history the Dravidas are generally associated with the non-Aryans. The editors of the Imperial Gazetteers of India State, "Taking them as we find them now, it may safely be said that their present geographical distribution, the marked uniformity of physical characters among the more primitive members of the group, their animistic religion, their

86. NS 21.110.
87. NS 17.38; 21.110.
88. Manusmrti, 19.44.
distinctive languages, their stone monuments, and their retention of a primitive system of totemism justify us in regarding them as the earliest inhabitants of India of whom we have any knowledge.  

The language of this people i.e. Drāvidī, which is supposed to be more ancient than Sanskrit, does not give us any geographical names of any part of India. NS locates them in the south.

The colour of this people, as stated in the NS, is 'śīlta' i.e. brown.


We do not find any reference to this people in Vedic literature. In Pañini the name is used to denote a city.

89. Imp. Gaz. of India, Vol. I, p. 299. For the origin and other details of this tribe please refer to Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of South India" and Risley's "The people of India."

90. NS 2168.

91. Pañini VI, 2. 100.
We know that after the decline of the Imperial Guptas, Gaudas established an independent monarchy in the 6th Cent. A.D.

The Dubi inscription of Bhāskarvarman of Kāmarūpa seems to refer to the Gauda army as especially strong in Naval warfare.92

16. Kaisikas93 The NS does not mention this name as tribe but mentions Kaisiki Vṛtta which suggests this tribe.

Kaisikas are not mentioned in Vedic and Purānic literature. As they are connected in the NS with Dāksinātya Pravṛtti, I presume that they must be the people of southern India. Dr. Raghavan says in his learned article on 'Vṛttis', 'The chief people referred to as Dāksinātyas are the Vaidarbhas. We know that in Dramaturgy and Poetics, the Vidarbha country was held to be the home of Mādhurya, Sākumārya, etc. We hear of a place called Krathakaisika or a race of kings so called in the Mahābhārata, the Raghuvamsā and the Mālavikāgnimitra.'

93. NS 1.42, 44,45; 6.24; 20.13, 25,52,53,55,56,73.
Krathakaisika is the ancient capital of the Vidarbha country which is the home of grace and beauty. So I think the name of the graceful Vṛtti Kāśikī is derived from Kāśika or Krathakaisika in Vidarbha.  

17. Kālingas: The people of Kālinga country, mentions them with Anāgas and Veṇgas. In Purāṇas and Epics they are associated in the same manner.

The Mahābhārata and Purāṇas narrate a story of the five sons of king Bali amongst whom Kālinga was one whose name, the region under him, bore. The Vāyupurāṇa describes the regions as unsanctified.

The country of Kālinga is mentioned by Panini. Kautilya makes a reference to the elephants of this country. The alphabet of Kālinga country is referred to in the Lalitavistara as having been mastered by the Bodhisattva.

95. NS 21.112.
96. Quoted by Dr. B. C. Law, GB., p. 157.
97. CHVF., p. 258.
98. Panini, IV. 1.170.
100. Quoted by Dr. B. C. Law, G.E., p. 157.
regions in this way. "Kaliṅga comprised all the Eastern coast between the Utkals, on the north and the Telingas on the south. The Vaitarni flowed through it. The Mahendra mountains i.e. the eastern Ghats were within its southern limits. Kaliṅga comprised, therefore, the modern province of Orissa, the district of Ganjam and probably also that of Vizagapatam."\(^\text{101}\)

The colour of this people, as stated in the NS, is 'Śāyama' i.e. dark or deep blue.\(^\text{102}\)

The earliest known reference to this name is found in the Inscription of Asoka.\(^\text{103}\)

18. Kāsi.\(^\text{104}\) The tribe after which the ancient kingdom of Kāsi and the city of that name were known.

The editors of the Vedic Index state,

"The name Kāsi denotes (in the plural) the people of Kāsi."\(^\text{105}\) The geographical location of this people is stated in the preceding

\(^{102}\) NS 21.112.
\(^{103}\) Select Inscriptions, p. 36.
\(^{104}\) NS 21.110
section on geographical data. From the references of Brahmanical and Buddhist literature we learn that Kasis were of militant nature and were wealthy people. From the *Apannaka* and *Jātaka* we learn that there were rich merchants in Vāraṇasi, who used to trade in costly wares and sometimes used to go outside the city with valuable articles to trade.

The colour of this people is stated to be 'Sita' brown in the NS. 107

The earliest known reference to Vāraṇasi, the capital of this people, is found in the Saranāth Buddhist Image Inscriptions of Kanishka. 108

19. **Khasas** NS states that the Bahliki is the native speech of the Khasas who belong to the north.

We come across this name in *Mahābhārata* and *Markandeyapurāṇa*. In *Karnaparvan* of *Mahābhārata*, they are referred to as the inhabitants of the Punjab.

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106. Quoted by Dr. B.C. Law, *ALT.*, p. 28.
107. NS 21.110.
111. *Mark. Purāṇa*, 57-56, 57; 58.83.
Atkinson identifies the Khasas with the Yaksas and traces their settlements in the early period in the Punjab. He also describes this people having a knowledge of architecture and believes that the Caitys of Asoka were built by this people. 112

Dr. B.C. Law is of the opinion that the "Khasas are presumably a non-Aryan tribe and foreign as well. In the epic tradition, the Khasas are associated with Sakas, Daradas, etc., and were considered Mlechcha."

Shri D.N. Majumdar is of the opinion that "The Khasas are either Rajputs or Brahmins, they have mixed with or subjugated a Dom element, which is the basic substratum of population in these parts ... Although the Khasas are tribal, they should be distinguished from the bulk of the tribal people in India, who belong either to the Proto-Australoid or to the Mongoloid racial stock. The Khasas even if they have been diluted in blood by mixture with the Mongoloids of the upper Himalayas or with the Doms of the

112. Quoted by D.N. Majumdar, Races and cultures of India, p. 143.
113. GE, p. 171.
lower region belong to the Mediterranean stock, and some among them represent the true Mediterranean features."  

20. **Kirātas**  

NS mentions this tribe along with the Barbaras and Andhras. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Kirāta is a name applied to a people living in the caves of the mountains, as appears clearly from the dedication of the Kirāta to the caves (Guhā) in the Vījñapātī Samhita and from the reference in the Atharavaveda to a Kirāta girl (Kairātikā), who digs a remedy on the ridges of the mountains. Later the people called Kirātas were located in Eastern Nepal, but the name seems to have been applied to any hill folk, no doubt aborigines, though the Manava Dharma Sāstra regards them as degraded Kṣatriyās."  

The Mahābhārata mentions them along with the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gāndhāras and Barbaras who dwelt in the northern region or Uttarāpatha. In the Ramāyana they are mentioned with the Mlecchas. The Viṣṇupurāṇa also locates them in the northern region. This

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114. Races and Cultures of India, p. 143.  
115. NS 17.58; 21.110.  
117. Quoted by Dr. B.C.Law, I.C.Vol.I.No.3, p.381.  
118. Ibid.  
119. Ibid.
fact is attested by Ptolemy who includes the Kirrhadas (or Kirrhodoeis) among the tribes of the Sogdionoi or Sogdiana which was divided from Bactriana by the river Oseus.

The Bhāgavatapurāṇa\textsuperscript{120} considers Kirātas to be outside the Āryan fold. Here we are informed that the Kirātas along with the Būnas, Āndras, Pulindas, Pulkasas, Ābhīras, Subhās, Yavanas and Khasas and other unsanctified tribes purified themselves by offering their allegiance to Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

According to Megasthenes,\textsuperscript{121} Kirātas (Scyritae) were a nomadic people "who instead of nostrils have merely orifices." Dr. B. C. Law\textsuperscript{122} is of the opinion that, "They were probably a flat-nosed people of primitive origin dwelling in woods and mountains and living on hunting. According to the Indian tradition they were hunters dwelling in forests and living on animal food."

Dr. S. K. Chatterji identifies them with the Mongoloid peoples and says, "The Mongoloid peoples, with a number of different racial

\textsuperscript{120} Bhāgvata Purāṇa, II., 4.18.
\textsuperscript{121} Quoted by B. C. Law, IG. Vol. I, p. 382.
\textsuperscript{122} IC., Vol. I. No. 3 p. 382.
elements possessing certain common physical characteristics (yellow or yellow-brown skin, narrow or slant eyes, high cheek-bones, flat noses and paucity of hair on face), came into India probably before the Aryans, who knew them as Kirātas. Evidence of their presence as far down as Mohen-jo-Daro has been found. They entered into India from the East, along the course of the Brahmaputra river and its eastern tributaries, and also by way of Tibet, crossing the eastern Himalayas. They formed wide settlements throughout Assam, Bhutan and Nepal (which are Kirāta lands in India per excellence), and also in East and North Bengal, North Bihar and the regions to the south of the Himalayas in North India right up to Kashmir. Some of them appear to have penetrated even further to the south—into Orissa and Central India (Bastar in Madhya Pradesh). The participation of the Kirātas in the common civilization of India has been confined to the north and north-east only. But nevertheless, we have to take note of them as an important element in the formation of the Indian people in the extreme north, east and north-east, and in their participation in the development of Indian civilization. 123.

The colour of this tribe, as stated in the NS, is 'āsīta' i.e. brown. 124

The earliest inscriptive reference of this name is seen in the Nāgarjunikonda inscription of Viṣṇupuṣadatta. 125

21. Kosalas 126 This is the tribe giving name to the ancient Kosala kingdom. The editors 127 of the Vedic Index say, "Kosala is the name of a people not occurring in the earliest Vedic literature. In the story of the spread of Āryan culture told in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Kosala-Videhas, as the offspring of Videha Māthava, appear as falling later than the Kuru-Pāñcālas, under the influence of Brahmanism. According to these scholars, "Kosala lay to the north east of the Ganges and corresponds roughly to the modern Oudh." 128

According to Mr. Rapson, "Kosala formed a kingdom lying to the east of Pāñcāla and to the west of Videha. It is the modern province of Oudh in the United provinces." 129 Prof. Rhys Davids 129 is of the opinion that "The Kosalas

124. NS 21.110.
125. Select Inscriptions, p.226.
were the ruling clan in the kingdom whose
capital was Sāvatthi, in what is now Nepal,
seventy miles north-west of the modern Gorakhpur.
It included Benares and Saketa; and probably
had the Ganges for its southern boundary, the
Gandak for its eastern boundary, and the
mountains for its northern boundary. The Sākiyas
already acknowledged, in the seventh century
B.C., the suzerainty of Kosala.130

Buddhaghoṣa, the great commentator
of the Pali canon, has narrated an anecdote giving
a fanciful origin of the name of Kosala.131

130. Buddhist India, p.15.

131. He says in his commentary on Dīgha Nikāya, the
Samaṅgalavilāsini, that the country inhabited by the
Kosala princes was technically called Kosala. In ancient
times, prince Mahāpanāda of this country was very grave
and did not smile. The king tried to make him smile and
proclaimed that he would offer a great reward to
the person who would be able to bring a smile on the
Prince’s face. Many from among the subjects of his
kingdom came to the capital in order to win the reward
but all their efforts were in vain. At last the god
Indra sent his own dramatical party to make him smile
and it became unsuccessful. Then the people who had
flocked to the court to make the prince smile began
to return home. The relatives and friends of the
people seeing them on the way after a long time
asked them, "Kacci bho kusalam, kacci bho kusalam"2
(Are you all right?) From the word 'Kusalam' the
country came to be called 'Kosāla' - Ancient Indian
tribes, p.37.
In Epic period Kosala emerges into great importance. The scene of action of the Rāmāyana is in Kosala. Mr. Pargiter\textsuperscript{132} is of the opinion that it was under king Dilīpa II and his immediate descendants, that the country had acquired the name of Kosala. In various contexts Kosala is mentioned in Sabha-parva, Vanaparva, Udyogaparva and Bhīṣmaparva of Mahābhārata. The history of Kosala in later times is known chiefly from Jain and Buddhist literature.

Dr. B.C. Law is of the opinion that, "The Kosalas belonged to the solar family and were derived directly from Manu through Ikṣvāku. A family of princes bearing this name is known from the Vedic literature and it is quite possible that the solar dynasties of Kosala and other kingdoms to the east of the middle country were descended from this family. If so, Ikṣvāku must be regarded as an eponymous ancestor; and as his superhuman origin had to be explained, a myth founded on a farfetched etymology of his name was invented. Ikṣvāku was so called because he was born from the sneeze of Manu. The Vedic literature points

\textsuperscript{132} AIHT., p.276.
out that the Ikṣvaකus were originally a branch of the Purus. They were kings of Kosala. ¹³³

The colour of this tribe, as stated in the NS, is 'Asita' i.e. brown. ¹³⁴

The earliest inscriptionsal reference of this name is seen in the Ayodhya stone Inscription of Dhanadeva¹³⁵ and Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.¹³⁶

22. Maｇadhas.¹³⁷ The tribe after which the country of Magadha was named. The editors¹³⁸ of the Vedic Index says, "Magadha is the name of a people who appear throughout Vedic literature as of little rüpute. Though the name is not actually found in the Rigveda, it occurs in the Atharvaveda, where fever is wished away to the Gandhāris and Mājavanta, northern peoples, and to the Aṅgas and Māgadhās, peoples of the east." In the Āpastambha Srauta Sūtra (XXII, 6, 18), the Māgadhās are mentioned as a people along with other peoples of Eastern and Western India.¹³⁹ In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa we read that the people of Magadha were famous for their loud voice.¹⁴⁰ In the Gautama Dharma

¹³³ Ancient Indian Tribes. p. 36.
¹³⁴ NS 21. 110.
¹³⁵ Select Inscriptions, p. 96.
¹³⁶ Ibid. p. 256.
¹³⁷ NS. 21. 112.
¹³⁹ Quoted by Dr. R. C. Law, ALT, p. 93.
¹⁴⁰ Ibid.
Sāstra (IV. 17), the Māgadha is not a man of Magadha but is a member of a mixed caste produced by a Vaiśya marrying a Kṣatriya woman.\footnote{141} Manu speaks of the same origin of the Māgadha. The editors\footnote{142} of the Vedic Index rightly say, "The Māgadhas are evidently a people in the Baudhāyāna and other Sūtras, possibly also in the Aitareya Āryaṇyaka. It is therefore, most improbable that Zimmer can be right in thinking that in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda the Māgadha is not a man of Magadha, but a member of the mixed caste produced by a Vaiśya marrying a Kṣatriya woman. But the theory of mixed castes, in any case open to some doubt, cannot be accepted when used to explain such obviously tribal name as Māgadha."

In Rāmāyana and Māhābhārata Magadhas are frequently mentioned as people and country too. Purāṇas give ample information about this country and people. The Pali literature make no less prominent mention of Magadha. Its ancient capital was Girivraja (Rajagṛha). The

\footnote{141}{Manu 10.11.}
\footnote{142}{Vedic Index Vol. II, p. 117.}
celebrated physician Jītaka, frequently mentioned in the Buddhist literature belonged to Magadha. References to big bankers in Magadha during Buddha's time may be gleaned from the Jātakas. We come across some information about Magadha in the Jain literature. Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the 24th Tirthankara, was born in Magadha (Modern Bihar) which was then the most powerful state in India. Mahāvīra spent 14 rainy seasons in Rajagrha, the capital of Magadha.

It is notable that NS mentions Māgadhas with Pañcālas, Sūraenas, Odras, Āṅgas, Vaṅgas and Kalingas. The colour of this tribe, as stated in the NS is Syama i.e. black.

The colour of this tribe, as stated in the NS is Syāma i.e. dark blue. 145

The earliest known epigraphical reference of this name is found in the inscriptions of Aśoka. 146

143. Heart of Jainism, p.8 (S. Stevenson)
144. Quoted by B.C. Law, AIT., p.134.
145. NS 21.112.
146. Select Inscriptions, p.77.
23. **Mahisasa** The people of Mahīṣa country. This name occurs in the editions of G.O.S., Baroda and Nirmayasagar, Bombay. Dr. M.M. Ghosh has not accepted this reading. Instead of 'Mahiṣāśca' he has accepted 'Tathācaiva'.

NS mentions this people with Pañcālas, Saurasenas, Odras and Magadhas. The name does not occur in the Vedic literature. In the Mahābhārata and the Puranic literature Mahisikas or Mahismakas are mentioned. In the Puranas they are referred to as a people of the South. It is presumed that the Mahisas referred to here are identical with the Mahisikas or Mahismakas of the Puranas. F.R. Pargiter identifies this people as the people of Mahismati. He says, "Mahismati was an ancient and famous city and was situated on the River Narmada, at a place where the Vindhayas and the Riksha mountains contracts the valley. Muukunda was its founder according to one passage and Mahishmat according to another."
Dr. S.M. Ali\(^1\) says, "This janapada covered the southern region of Karnata. It occupied the basin of the upper Kaveri and Shimsha river."

The colour of this people, as stated in the NS, is syama – i.e. dark blue.\(^2\)

24. **Maladas**: \(^3\) The country of Maladas. NS mentions this country where the Odramagadhi style prevailed. The Mahabharata mentions Maladas as a people of the east who were vanquished by Bhima in his digvijaya.\(^4\) F.R. Pargiter identifies them with the people of the modern direct of Maldah in Bengal.\(^5\)

25. **Malavas**: \(^6\) NS mentions this country where the Avanti style prevailed. Greeks recognize this people as Malloi. They are said to have offered the strongest resistance to the Greek invaders.\(^7\) They were one of the powerful ancient tribes of Northern India even before the invasion of

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1. GP, p.154.
2. NS 21.112.
3. NS 13.45.
4. Quoted by D.R. Patil, CHVP, p.242, Appendix 'A'.
6. NS 13.42.
7. Charmashal Lectures, 1913, pp.12.3.
Alexander in the 4th Cent. B.C. Literary epigraphic and numismatic sources speak much of this tribe. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar says, "There are three stages in their history. Their earliest location is found in the Punjab where they opposed the invading Alexander. The Greek writers knew them as Malloi. Later on they migrated to the south in Rajputana near about the Jaipur State, for their coins have been found just over here." 158

The earliest epigraphical reference to this tribe is seen in the Nasik cave inscriptions of Saka Upavadata. 159

26. Mlecchas: 160 While describing the gaits and movements of different tribes, the NS speaks of Mleccha tribes like Pulindas and Säbaras. Dr. K.P. Jayaswal is of the opinion that "Mleccha is not a Sanskrit but Semitic word." 161

158. Ibid.
159. SI, p. 162.
160. NS 12.151.
We come across this name for the first time in the Satapatha Brahmana. The Editors of the Vedic Index say, "Mleccha occurs in the Satapatha Brahmana in the sense of a barbarian in speech. The Brahmin is there forbidden to use barbarian speech."\textsuperscript{162}

In Mahábhárata Vidūra talks with Yudhîśthira in Mleccha language.\textsuperscript{163}

The Inscriptional reference of this name is found the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta.\textsuperscript{164}

27. Odras\textsuperscript{165} The NS mentions Odras with Magadhas. Odras are not mentioned in the Vedic and Epic literature. We come across this name in Manusmrti.\textsuperscript{166} Dr. M. Ghosh\textsuperscript{167} believes that this is the name of a tribe after which the modern Orissa (Odrivîśaya) was named.

The Colour of this people, as described in the NS is Śyāma i.e. dark blue.\textsuperscript{168}

\textsuperscript{162} VI., Vol. II, p.131.
\textsuperscript{163} Mbh. Ādiparvan, 2.103.
\textsuperscript{164} Select Inscriptions, p.103.
\textsuperscript{165} NS 21.112.
\textsuperscript{166} Manu X.44.
\textsuperscript{168} NS 21.112.
28. **Pahlavas**. NS mentions this tribe along with Sakas, Yavanas and Bahlikas and locates them in the north. The Vedic literature is silent about this tribe. *Mahabharata* and some Puranas speak of this tribe. Manusmriti mentions the Yavanas, Kambojas, Sakas and Pahlavas and Cinas. B.C. Law is of the opinion that "The Pahlavas are generally identified with the Pehlavis or ancient Persians." Rapson in his Ancient India says, "The third class of foreign invaders, who are, in Indian literature and inscriptions, called Pahlavas, were Parthians, the two names being etymologically identical. It is clear, however, that the Pahlavas who invaded India did not belong to the main stock which was represented by the rulers of the Parthian empire, but rather to the subordinate branch which was established in its eastern provinces, Drangiana (Seistan), Arachosia (Kandahar) and Gedrosia (Northern Baluchistan)." Dr. J.N. Banerjea says, "The Scythian and Parthian invaders of India find occasional mention in many of the old Indian

169. NS 21. 111.
170. GB, p. 140.
171. Manu. X. 44.
172. GB, pp. 139-40.
texts and they are often coupled in the memory of the Indian writers with their immediate predecessors here, the Yavanas, the compound-Saka-Yavana-Pahlava occurring often enough in early epic and other literature. These allusions are usually of a general character and do not supply us with any connected account of their Indian career. 174 This scholar further informs us, "An apocryphal Christian legend refers to the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares and his brother Gad and the archaeological discoveries have substantiated the existence of this king Gondophares in India during the first part of the first Cent. A.D. It is mainly the archaeological sources, however, that enabled us to reconstruct, though partially, the history of the Saka-Pahlava occupation of India." 175

The colour of this tribe as mentioned α in the NS is ‘gaura’ i.e. pale red. 176

The inscriptive references known of this tribe is seen in the Junagadh inscriptions of Rudradatta 177 and Nasik inscriptions of Puḷumāvi. 178

175. Ibid.
176. NS 21.11.
178. Ibid. p. 197.
29. **Pāṇcālas**: This is one of the well-known tribes of ancient India. In the Vedic literature Pāṇcālas are most intimately connected with the Kūrus. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Pāṇcāla is the later name of the people called Kīvi in the Rigveda. The Pāṇcālas are rarely referred to except in connection with the Kūrus, and the kings of the Kūru-Pāṇcālas are mentioned in the Aitāraya Brāhmaṇa. In the Kāthaka Samhitā the Pāṇcālas appear as the people of Kesiṇ Dalbhya. In the Upaniṣads and later the Brahmans of the Pāṇcālas figure as taking part in philosophical and philological discussions."

In Mahābhārata and Purāṇas Pāṇcālas are frequently referred to. In Mahābhārata many stories are woven round about Kūrus and Pāṇcālas. The celebrated king Drupada, the father of Draupadi was the king of Pāṇcāla.

179. NS 13.37, 49; 21.112.
country. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Vāyu Purāṇa and Agni Purāṇa the origin of the name Pāñcālā is discussed.\(^{181}\)

In Buddhist tradition Pāñcālas are divided into two divisions: Uttara Pāñcāla and Daksīna Pāñcāla. The capital of Uttara Pāñcāla was Hastināpura, while according to Jātakas, their capital was Kapillanagar.\(^ {182}\)

According to Mahābhārata the capital of Uttara Pāñcāla was Abhičhatra or Chatravati.

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181. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa informs us that, king Bharmasva born in the family of Dismanta, had five sons: Mudgala, Yaminara, Vṛhadviśa, Kampilla and Sañjaya. As these five sons were capable of guarding the five countries, they were named Pāñcālā. (BP. 9.21)

Vismapurāṇa narrates the story a little differently. Here we are told that king Haryaśva born in the family of Kurā, had five sons, Mudgala, Srimjaya, Vṛhadviśu, Pravira and Kāmpilya. The king was under the impression that his five sons were competent to protect five provinces and hence known as Pāñcālā. (Vismu P. 13th Chao, 4th Anka)

The Vayupurāṇa repeats the same story. Rksa born in the family of Dvimida had five sons: Mudgala, Srimjaya, Vṛhadviśu, Vaviyasa and Kāmpilya. The provinces of the five sons became afterwards famous as Pāñcālā. (Vayu P. Ch. 99).

(identical with modern Ramnagar in Bareilly district), while Southern Pañcāla had its capital at Kāmpilya, identical with modern Kampil in the Farokhabad district. 183

In the Arthasastra of Kauṭilya these people are mentioned as an illustration of the Samgha form of Government. 184

The Jaina literature also refers to Pañcāla and its Princes. 185

Pliny mentions a people called Passalae, who may be recognised as the inhabitants of Pañcāla or the region that lay between the Ganges and the Jamnā. 186

The colour of this tribe, as mentioned in the NS, is 'syāma i.e. Black'. 187

30. Paundras. NS mentions this name as that of a country with Nepāla, Antargira and Bahirgira. In Indian history they are known as Pundras,

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183. Quoted by B.C.Law, CE, p.133.
186. Mc Crindle's Ancient India, p.131.
187. NS 21.112.
188. NS 13.45.
Pundrakas or Paundrakas or Paundrikas. This tribe is mentioned in the Vedic literature.

The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Pundra is the name of a people regarded as outcasts in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. Their name occurs in the Satras also. In Mahābhārata rulers of Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Pundra and Suhma are described as the sons of Bali, the king of the eastern regions. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa locates them along with Kevalas and Gölāṅgulas in the south. Brhadārasaṁhitā also locates them in the eastern regions.

The boundaries of the kingdom of the Pundras as stated by F.R. Pargiter, "They had the Kāśis on their north; and the Odras on their south-west. Hence their territory corresponded to modern Chotā Nagpur with the exception of the southern portions. Their boundary on the south was no doubt the land of the Utkalas. The territories of the Pundras extended to the Chambal river."

190. Quoted by Dr. B.A. Saletore, The wild Tribes in Indian History, p.118.
191. Ibid.
192. Ibid.
31. **Pulindas:** NS mentions this tribe with Sabaras and considers it as Mleccha. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Pulindas is the name of an outcast tribe mentioned with the Andhras in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, but not in the Sāṃkhyaṇa-Srauta Sūtra, in connection with the story of Sunahṣepa." In the *Mahābhārata* they are placed in the Dakṣināpatha along with the Andhras, Cuhas, Sabaras, Cuuckas, and Madrakas. The Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas describe them as ‘Dakṣina-Patha-Vāsinah’. In Bhāgavatapurāṇa they are considered to be outside the Aryan fold.

The capital of the Pulindas was Pulindanagāra which lay to the South-East of Dasaṁna i.e. Vidisa or Bhilsā region, and may have been identical with Rupnāth, the find spot of the recension of minor Rock Edict I of Asoka.

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194. NS 12.51; 21.110.
197. Ibid.
199. PHAI., pp.79 and 258.
Dr. B.C. Law is of the opinion that "The Pulindas are referred to in the Purānas as dwelling in the northern and western regions as well. Apparently they were a rude non-Aryan tribe scattered in different parts of India. The Pulindas of the Daksinapatha were probably an offshoot of the northern Pulindas."

A very interesting account is supplied by Ptolemy. He describes, "Pulinda is a name applied in Hindu works to a variety of aboriginal races. Agriophagoi is a Greek epithet, and indicates that the Pulinda was a tribe that subsisted on raw flesh and roots or wild fruits. In Yule's map they are located to the north east of the Ran of Kutchh, lying between the Khatriaioi in the north and Larike in south. Another tribe of this name lived about the central parts of the Vindhyas. "According to this description Pulindas seem to have been located along the banks of the river Narmadā and to the frontiers of Larika i.e. Lāta.

The colour of this tribe, as mentioned in the NS is 'äsita' i.e. net-white.
The earliest inscrip tional reference
to this tribe is seen in the inscriptions of
Asoka. Dr. B. A. Salotore considers this to
be an error and says, "They were wrongly
supposed to have been mentioned in the Rock
Edicts of Asoka. But, as Hultzsch pointed out,
the term occurring in the Rock Edicts was Palida,
Palada, and Parinda.

32. Pulkasasr, while describing the language of
the various tribes NS mentions this tribe. The
language of this tribe, as mentioned in the
NS, is Cāndālī.

The editors of the Vedic Index
say, "Paulkasa is the name of one of the
victims at the Puruṣamedha (human sacrifice)
in the Yajurveda. The name also occurs in
the Brhadārpyaka Upaniṣad as that of a
despised race of men, together with the
Cāndāla. The Maitrāyāpi Samhitā has the
variant Puklaka or Pulkaka, clearly the same
as Pulkasa, of which Paulkasa is a derivative.

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203. Select Inscriptions, p. 37.
204. The wild Tribes in Indian History, p. 99.
205. NS 17.54.
206. VI., Vol. II p. 27.
form, showing that a caste is meant. In the accepted theory, the Pulkasa is the son of a Nisāda or Sudra by Ksatriya woman, but this is merely speculative; the Paulkasa may either have been a functional caste, or, as Pec believes, an aboriginal clan living by catching wild beasts, and only occasionally reduced to menial tasks."

33. **Sabaras**\(^{207}\) This was one of the wild tribes of ancient India. In the NS they are mentioned, with Pulindas and considered as Mleccha. The earliest known reference of this tribe is found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Editors of the Vedic Index say, "Sabara is the name of a wild tribe who in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa are classed as Dasyus, with the Āndhras, Pulindas, Mutibas and Pundras.\(^{208}\) The Mahābhārata places them in the Deccan along with the Āndhras and Pulindas.\(^{209}\) The Rāmāyana story of the Sāvara women who were deeply attached to Rāmacandra also seems to indicate that the Sāvaras were a wild tribe inhabiting the forest regions of the south.\(^{210}\)

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207. NS 12.151; 17.50.
209. Quoted by Dr. B.C. Law, TIAI., p. 172.
210. Ibid.
According to Amara there is no difference between the Kirātas, the Sābaras, the Bedas and other wild tribes.\textsuperscript{211} He also considers this tribe as Mechha.\textsuperscript{212} Kautilya\textsuperscript{213} mentions them in the same manner. The Vāyu Purāṇa regards Sābara country as unfit for Sraddha.\textsuperscript{214}

The Suari of Pliny and the Sābarae of Ptolemy were identified by Cunningham with the Sābaras or Suars, a wild race of cultivators who live in the jungles without any inhabitation. They may be said in general to have occupied the central parts of India.\textsuperscript{215}

Dr. Cunningham has made interesting observations on the word Sābara. He traces the origin of the word to the Scythian 'sagari' meaning an axe.\textsuperscript{216}

Dr. B. C. Law is of the opinion that "Admittedly they were an aboriginal tribe

\textsuperscript{211} AK., II.20.21.
\textsuperscript{212} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{213} Kautilya's As., Eng. Trans. Shama Shastri, p. 46 (Text).
\textsuperscript{214} Quoted by Dr. Singh, CSGDB, p. 282.
\textsuperscript{215} Quoted by Dr. B. A. Saleto, The Wild tribes in Anc. History p. 41.
\textsuperscript{216} ASR. XVII., p. 113.
mentioned in the Ramayana as well as in the Mahābhārata as living in the forest regions of Central India and the Deccan. The Sābaras can still be found in the interiors of Orissa as well as in those of Central India and Deccan under the names of Sābar, Saur, etc."217 The same scholar in his article "Some notes on Tribes in Ancient India" concludes, "The Ramayana story of the Savara woman who were deeply attached to Rāmachandra also seems to indicate that the Sābaras were a wild tribe inhabiting the forest regions of the south."218.

34. Saindhavas:219 In Indian history Saindhavas are generally coupled with Sauvīras. In the Vedic literature Sāndhava is mentioned in other context. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Saindhava-coming from the Indus-is a term applied to water in the Taittariya Sāṁhitā, to Gugglu in the Atharvaveda, to a horse in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and to Salt in the same text."220.

Panini says, "One whose ancestors lived in Sindhu."221

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217. GB., p.158.
218. Indian Culture Vol.I.No.2. p.305
219. NS 13.42.
221. Panini, IV, 3.90.
The Saindhavas of JhamaXi are well known in the history of western India.

The inscriptive reference of this name is seen in the Junagadh Rock inscriptions of Rudradaman-I. 222.

35. Sakalasa. In some manuscripts the reading is Salvaka. Dr. M. M. Ghosh believes that "The reading Salyaka of some mss. may be a variant of Salvaka. As in the Puranas an expression like Salya - Sakalavasinah is met with, Salvas or Salvakas might have been the name of a tribe residing in the ancient Sakala region." 224

NS mentions this name with the countries of Bhalikas, Madras, and Usinaras and locates them in the northern bank of the Ganges. According to Ceylonese tradition, Sakala was the capital of Milinda, who ruled possibly about the end of the second cent. 225 B.C. This is identical with modern Sialkot in the Punjab. 226.

Dr. M. R. Singh says, "The city of Sakala, according to the Vishnu-Dharmottara Mahapurana,

222. Select Inscriptions, p. 172.
223. NS 13.47.
225. Select Inscriptions, p. 104.
226. GB., p. 47.
was prosperous, thickly populated and containing magnificent buildings. In another passage of this Purāṇa Sākāla is said to be situated between the rivers Devikā and Chandrabhaṅga.\textsuperscript{227}

The same scholar further says, "According to Patañjali it was situated in Vāhikadesā. By the second century B.C. the city came under the Yavanas."\textsuperscript{228}

36. Sākas\textsuperscript{229} NS mentions this tribe along with Yavanas, Pahlavas and Bāhlikas and locates them in the north. In the Indian historical tradition, Sākas are a well-known foreign tribe and considered Mlecchas with other tribes.

The Greek historian Herodotus expressly states that the term 'Sākas' was used by the Persians to denote Scythians generally\textsuperscript{230}

This foreign tribe is not mentioned in the Vedic literature. In Epics and Purāṇas they are frequently mentioned\textsuperscript{231}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{227} CSGDRP., p.155.
\item \textsuperscript{228} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{229} NS 12.149; 17.50, 54,55;21.111.
\item \textsuperscript{230} Quoted by E.J. Rapson, Anc. India.,p.136.
\item \textsuperscript{231} Quoted by Dr. B.C. Law, GB., p.173.
\end{itemize}
of the king Sagara, Vāyu-Purāṇa refers to Sākṣas, Yavanas, etc. as Ksatriya gānas.\textsuperscript{232}

The same Purāṇa mentions that "The Sākṣas had their heads half-shaved while the Yavanas, and Kambojas-clean shaving."\textsuperscript{233}

According to F.E. Pargiter, Sākṣas were not Aryans by origin.\textsuperscript{234} He is of the opinion that they were originally Druhyus ruling in the Mleccha countries of the north who came back to India to help the Haithayās and were called Sākṣas.\textsuperscript{235}

In the historical tradition of India the two branches of this foreign tribe viz. the Kṣaharātās and the Kārdamakas are well known for their Indiantization. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar has discussed this point in his scholarly article "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population."\textsuperscript{236}

The colour of this tribe, as mentioned in the NS, is 'Gaura' i.e. white.\textsuperscript{237}

\textsuperscript{232} Quoted by D.R. Patil, CHVP., p.87.  
\textsuperscript{233} Quoted by D.R. Patil, CHVP., p.139.  
\textsuperscript{234} JRAS, 3911, p.261-190. Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{235} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{237} NS 21.11.
One of the oldest references to the Sakas or the Scythians is found in the Cuneiform inscriptions of Darius-I where as many as three different branches of this people are enumerated. 238

37. Sātvatās. 233 The NS does not mention this tribe but mentions Sāttvāti Vṛtti which suggests this name. The correct reading should be Sātvatas. This tribe is not mentioned in Vedic literature but is mentioned in Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

Dr. V. Raghavan identifies this tribe with the race of Sri Kṛṣṇa. 240

38. Saurāstrās. 241 The NS mentions this name to denote a country where the Avanti style is prevailed. This tribe is not mentioned in the Vedic literature. Dr. B. C. Law says, "The Saurāstrās as a tribe must have existed at least as early as the period represented by the Epics. The tribe, together with its country,

238. Select Inscriptions p. 6,
239. NS 6.24; 20.12, 25, 41, 62, 73.
241. NS 13.42.
is mentioned in more than one connection in Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. The Kiskindhyā Kāṇḍa locates the tribe in the west. 242 The learned scholar further says that "at the time of the Mahābhārata, the Surastrā country was ruled by the Yādavas." 243

The Saurāstrās are mentioned by Panini. The Arthāśāstra of Kauṭilya also mentions the republic of the Surastrās. Rājāsēkhara in his Kāvyamimamsā includes the Surastrā country in the Pāscāddesa or west division along with Dāsorakā, Travaṇa, Bhṛgukaccha, Kacchīya, Aharīṭta, Arbuda and other countries.

The earliest epigraphical reference of this name is found in the Junāgadh Rock Inscriptions of Rudradāmanī, from which we know that the country was included in the Mauryan empire. 247

39. Sauviras: 248 The NS mentions them with Saindhavas. This tribe is not mentioned in the

242. Tribes in Ancient India, p. 347.
243. Ibid.
244. Pāñini, VI, 2.37. Cf. IKP., p. 61.
245. Quoted by Dr. M. B. Singh, CSGDF., p. 322.
248. NS 13.42.
Vedic literature. They are mentioned in Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata. On the authority of the Agni Puraṇa Dr. M.R. Singh says, "The Sauviras had occupied the extensive territory along the Indus reaching the desert in the east, beyond which lived the Ābhiras and the Matsyas."250

The earliest inscrip tional reference to this tribe is seen in the Junāgādh Rock Inscription of Rudradāmanī.251

40. Sūraśenas:252 This tribe is not mentioned in the Vedic Index. They are mentioned in the Epic literature. In an enumeration in the Mahābhārata of the various peoples of Bharatavarsa, the Sūrašenas are mentioned along with the Śālavas, Kuru-Pāṇcālas and other neighbouring tribes. In the Rāmāyana, we read that Sugrīva, when sending out his monkey generals in search of Sītā, told those who were going towards the north to search the country of the Sūrašenas.254.

249. See CSGDF, p.151.
250. Ibid., p.152.
251. Select Inscriptions, p.172.
252. NS 13.49; 21.112.
253. Tribes in Ancient India, p.39.
254. Ibid.
This tribe is also mentioned in the Buddhist literature. Prof. Rhys Davids says, 'The Sūrasenas, whose capital was Madhurā, were immediately south-west of the Macchas and west of Jumna.'

Dr. B.C. Law says, "The Sūrasenas are not mentioned in the Vedic literature, but in the Mānavadharma-Sastra they are spoken of in high term as belonging to the Brahmārsī-desa, or the country of the great Brāhmaṇical seers, whose conduct was an example to all Āryans." He further says, "Manu also pays a high tribute to the martial qualities of the Sūrasenas, inasmuch as he advises a king when arranging his troops on the battle-field, to place the Sūrasenas in the very front line." As regards their absence in the Vedic literature the learned scholars says, 'The Sūrasenas were among the tribes who occupied a rank in Indo-Āryan society second only to that of the small population of the narrow strip of Brahmatvārt. Therefore they must have belonged to the Vedic people, though probably they had not acquired sufficient political importance in very early

255. BL., p. 17.
257. Ibid.
times to find a mention in the Rgveda or the subsequent Vedic literature. They claimed descent from Yadu, a hero whose people are repeatedly referred to in the Rgveda; and it is probable that the Shirasenas were included among the Rgvedic Yadus.°258

The colour of this tribe, as mentioned in the NS, is 'Syama'-i.e. dark blue.°259

41. Usinaras:°260 This country is mentioned in the NS along with Bahlikas, Sakalas and Madrakas and located contiguous either to the Himalayas or to the northern bank of the Ganges. It obviously means the country of the Usinaras. The editors°261 of the Vedic Index say, "In the Aitareya Brahmana, the Kuru-Pańc alas are mentioned as dwelling together in the 'Middle country' with the Vasaśas and Usinaras. In the Kausitaki Upanisad also the Usinaras are associated with the Kuru-Pańc alas and Vasaśas, but in the Gopatha Brahmana the Usinaras and Vasaśas are regarded as northerners. In the Rgveda the people is alluded to in one passage by reference to their queen, Usinarāṇī."

258. Ibid.
259. NS 21.112.
260. NS 13.49.
Panini\textsuperscript{262} mentions Usinaras in his \textit{Πηνίνη} in his \textit{śutras}. In Mahābhārata and Pauranic traditions we come across this name. The story of Usinara's offering to sacrifice himself for a pigeon, mentioned in the \textit{Vanaparvan} of Mahābhārata is favourite in Indian mythology.\textsuperscript{263} In Bhāgavata Purāṇa\textsuperscript{264} king Suyājñā of Usinara is mentioned.

In Buddhist Jātakas\textsuperscript{265} king of Usinara is frequently referred to.

Zimmer thinks that the Usinaras earlier lived farther to the north-west. His view was based on the fact that the \textit{Anukramaṇī} of the Ṛgveda ascribes one hymn (X, 179) to Śivinara; and that the Śivis were known to Alexander the Great's followers as the Siboi,\textsuperscript{266} living between the Indus and Akesines (Chenab). The editors of the Vedic Index does not agree with this theory of Zimmer. They say, "But this is in no way conclusive, as the Sibis, at any

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{262} Panini, II, 4, 20; IV, 2, 118.
\item \textsuperscript{263} Mahābhārata, Vanaparvan, Chaps. 130–131. (Quoted by Dr. B. C. Law, Tribes in the Anc. India, p. 69).
\item \textsuperscript{264} Bhag. Purāṇa, Chap. II, Sloka 28, 7th Skandha. (Ibid)
\item \textsuperscript{265} Quoted by Dr. B. C. Law, Tribes in Anc. India, 69.
\item \textsuperscript{266} Ibid, p. 68.
\end{itemize}
rate in Epic times, occupied the land to the
north of Kuruksetra, and there is no reason
whatever to show that in the Vedic period the
Usīnaras were farther west than the 'Middle
Country'. F.E. Pargiter puts Usīnara and
his descendents in Punjab. According Pauranic
tradition king Usīnara was descended from the
Anavas. Rapson puts Usīnaras as dwelling
to the north of the Kuru country.

42. Vaidisikas. The people of Vidiśā, a famous
city of ancient times and the capital of Daśārṇa
country. Dr. B.C. Law identifies Vidiśā probably
with modern Besnagar, close to Bhilsā. It was
situated on the river Vetravati, Modern Betwa.

43. Vanavāsajas. Dr. M.M. Ghosh has accepted the
reading Vanavāsika. In the other three texts
it is Vanavāsaja. Obviously it can be said that
this must be the tribe living in the forest
regions. Shri N.L. Dey identifies this region
with the North Kanāra. He says, "North Kanāra was
called by this name during the Buddhist period."

268. AIHT., p.109.
269. Ibid. p.6.
270. Cambridge Hist. of India. Vol.I., p.84.
271. NS 13.82.
272. Tribes in Anc. India., p.386.
273. NS. 13.40.
274. GD, p.2.
The name is mentioned by Ptolemy as Banajjousei. 275

The earliest known inscriptional reference of this tribe is found in the Nagarjunikonda inscription of Virapurusadatta. 276

44. Vaṅgasa 277 This is the tribe after which the ancient Vaṅga-South-East Bengal got its name. The name is not mentioned in the Vedic Index. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Vaṅga, the designation of Bengal proper, is not found in the earlier Vedica literature unless it is to be recognized in the curious word 'Vaṅgavāgadāhah, which occurs in the Aitareya Aranyakā, and which suggests amendment to Vaṅga-Māgadhah, 'the Vaṅgas and the Magadhas,' two neighbouring peoples. The name is certainly found in the Baudhayāna Dharma Sūtra." 278 In the Dharma Sūtras of Baudhāyana this tribe is considered as living in an unsanctified country. 279 In the time of Patañjali, the Vaṅgas and their country were excluded from Ṛṣya-fold. 280

275. McCrindle's Ancient India, p. 179.
276. Select Inscriptions., p. 225.
277. NS 21.112.
280. Quoted by Dr. B.C.Law, Tribes in Anc. India, p. 264.
According to the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, king Bali's queen, Sudesnā, and the sage Dīrghatamas had five sons (with Bali's consent): Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Pundra, and Suhma. These five were called the Bāleya Ksatras or Bāleya Brāhmaṇas and are said to have been the founders of the five countries bearing their respective names. 281

In the Milinda Pañho, Vaṅga is described as a trading centre to be reached by sea. The mother of Śīhābāhu and Śīhasivalī, of Mahāvaṃsa and Dīpavaṃsa fame, was a Vaṅga prince's daughter, the daughter of a king of Vaṅga who had married the daughter of the king of Kaliṅga. 283

The earliest known epigraphical reference of this name is found in the Māhārāuli Iron Pillar Inscription of Candra. 284

45. Yavanas 285 In the NS this tribe is mentioned along with Sakas, Pahlavas, and Bāhlikas. They

281. Ibid. p. 282.
282. Ibid. P. —
283. Ibid. p. —
284. Select Inscriptions, p. 225.
are located in the north. In the Indian historical tradition, this tribe is classified with the Mlecchas. They are occasionally mentioned in the Indian literature and inscriptions from the 6th cent. B.C. to the 2nd cent. A.D. We know that one of the factors that led the downfall of the Imperial Mauryas was the advent of the Yavana invaders through the north-western gate of India. The most interesting chapter of Indian history of the post-Mauryan period is the establishment of the Yavana rule in Northern and Western India. The coinage of the Indo-Greek rulers is an independent chapter in the history of the Indian coinage. They played an important role in the political and cultural history of India.

Originally Yavana was the term used for Ionian Greeks. Gradually it became customary to use the word for any foreign tribe. Yavana is the Indian form of the word Ionian.

They are not mentioned in the Vedic Index. In the Mahābhārata we find them taking part in the Bhārata war at Kurukṣetra as allies of the Kurus. In the Rāmāyana struggles of the Hindus with mixed hordes of Sākas and

286. Quoted by Dr. B.C. Law, Tribes in Anc. India, p. 153.
Yavanas are referred to. In the Kiskindhyākaṇḍa, Sugrīva places the country of the Yavanas and the cities of the Sakas between the country of the Kurus and the Madras and the Himalayas. In the Purāṇas we come across the word Yavana and Javana. They were regarded as degenerate Ksatriyas and Mlechchhas.

In Buddhist literature we across this word. The Milinda-Pañho refers to the land of the Yonas as the place fit for the attainment of Nibbāna. The Mahāvathu speaks of the assembly of the Yonas where anything which was decided was binding on them.

In Pāṇini's Astādhyāyī Yavanaṁ is referred to.

Dr. A.K. Narain has shown that the Greek settlements had existed in the eastern parts of Achaemenid empire long before Alexander.

Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar has given a fine survey of this tribe in his learned article on "Foreign elements in the Hindu

237. Ibid.
288. Quoted by Dr. Dr. M.R. Singh, CSGDEP., p. 144.
289. Quoted by Dr. B.C. Law, Tribes in Anc. India, p. 154
290. Pāṇini, IV., I. 49.
291. The Ind. Greeks, pp. 165-166.
292. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, 1911, pp. 7-37.
population." While evaluating the contribution of this people to the Indian history, Dr. J.N. Banerjea states, "The Yavanas who were undoubtedly people with a highly developed culture of their own could not resist the environment of India, and had been and still were under process of absorption into Indian society; that 'they became adherents of Indian religious systems in clearly to be seen from their own confession'. ... ... Numerous Brahmi and Kharosthi inscriptions of the period discovered in various parts of Northern India prove that these new recruits to the Hindu fold became ardent followers of different Indian religious creeds."293

The colour of this tribe, as mentioned in the NS, is Gauri i.e. i.e. red.294

The earliest known inscriptive reference of this tribe is found in the inscriptions of Darius I and Asoka.295

Let us now take note of the legendary divine and semi-divine tribes and their location.

293. Comp, Hist. of India, p. 221.
294. NS II, 111.
295. Select Inscriptions, pp. 6, 12.
and colour as mentioned in the NS. These are: Devas, Asuras, Rāksasas, Daityas, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Nāgas, Gaṇas, Apsarasas, Yaksas, Pannagas, Vidyādharas, Guhyakas, Uragas, Cāranas, Piśācas and Bhūtas. The Yaksas/Guhyakas—followers of Kubera, as also Rāksasas, Bhūtas and Piśācas are located in the mountain Kailāsa, which is included in the Himalayas. Gandharvas, Apsarasas, and Gaṇas live in the Hemakūṭa mountain. The Nāgas live in the Niṣadha mountain. The thirty-three groups of gods dwell in the mountain Mahā Meru. Siddhas, Brahmarṣis are located in the Niḷāmeru. Daityas and Dānavas are mentioned as taking resort in Śvetaparvata, while the Pitṛs are located in the Śrīvyat mountain.

The colour recommended for the gods, Yaksas, and the Apsarasas is 'gaura' i.e. white and that for Daityas, Dānavas, Rāksasas, Guhyakas, Piśāces, and Yama is 'asita' i.e. not-white. We are further informed that the
Yaksas, Cāndharvas, Bhūtas, Pannagas, Vidyādharas and Pitrs are of various colours.

From what has been said above, it becomes clear that the reference to human tribes fall mainly in two literary periods, viz. Vedic and Puranic. The Vedic period comprises of the four Veda Samhitas, Brāhmaṇas including the Aranyakas and the Upaniṣad śas. The Vedic period, according to Prof. A. Macdonell would fall between c. 1200 B.C. to c. 500 B.C. Other scholars like Winternitz would put this literary period between 2000 B.C. or 2500 B.C. to 750 B.C. or 500 B.C.

Some modern scholars have attempted to identify some of these with human tribes and also found their habitation, e.g. Pisāces. The Late Prof. D.R. Mankad is of the opinion that the Pisāces were the western people and Paiśācī was their language. (Bhāratiya Vidyā, Vol. VI, Nos. 3-4). Kinnaras and X Yaksas are identified by Dr. B. A. Salatore as the peoples living in the Himalaya region. On the authority of the Hindu and Buddhist literature this scholar locates Yaksas in Kāshmīr. (The wild tribes in Indian History, pp. 126-136). The Asuras are identified with Assyrians (Asura India, by Dr. Anantprasad Banerji Sastrī).

296. Some modern scholars have attempted to identify some of these with human tribes and also found their habitation, e.g. Pisāces. The Late Prof. D.R. Mankad is of the opinion that the Pisāces were the western people and Paiśācī was their language. (Bhāratiya Vidyā, Vol. VI, Nos. 3-4). Kinnaras and X Yaksas are identified by Dr. B. A. Salatore as the peoples living in the Himalaya region. On the authority of the Hindu and Buddhist literature this scholar locates Yaksas in Kāshmīr. (The wild tribes in Indian History, pp. 126-136). The Asuras are identified with Assyrians (Asura India, by Dr. Anantprasad Banerji Sastrī).


The Puranic period in which we may include the \textit{Mah\textashape{ab}h\textashape{a}rata}, \textit{R\textashape{a}m\textashape{a}y\textashape{a}na}, \textit{P\textashape{u}r\textashape{a}nas proper} and the \textit{Sm\textashape{r}tis} is definitely post-Vedic. Buddhist literature also falls under this category of being post-Vedic.

As to inscriptions they can be assigned to a more specific period, say- Darius\textsuperscript{229} (c. 522 B.C. to 480 B.C.) to Bhāskararvarman\textsuperscript{300} (1st half of the 7th century A.D.).

To summarize:

The following tribes and peoples are mentioned in the Vedic Index of Macdonell and Keith:

\textit{Āndhras, Aṅgas, Bāhlikas, Bhārgava, Cāndālas, Kāsīs, Kirātas, Kosalas, Māgadhas, Pāñcālas, Pulindas, Pulkasas, Paundras, Sabaras, Saindhavas, Usinaras and Vaṅgas.}\textsuperscript{17}

From this we may conclude that \textit{NS} preserves at least this much of the early Vedic tradition.

\textsuperscript{229}. \textit{Select Inscriptions}, p.3.
\textsuperscript{300}. \textit{Classical Age}, p.89.
The following tribes and peoples are mentioned in the *Māhābhārata*, *Rāmāyana*, *Purāṇas* proper and *Śmrī* literature:

Ābhīras, Ānartas, Āvantyas, Barbaras, Dāskeśiṇātyas, Drāvidas, Gaudas, Kalingas, Khasas, Māhīsas, Maladas, Mālavas, Mlecchas, Nepalakas, Odras, Pahlavas, Sākas, Sākalas, Saurāstras, Sauvīras, Sāurasenas, Vaidīsikas, Vanavāsajas, and Yavanas. 2,

The following tribes and peoples are mentioned in the *Pāli*-Suddhist literature:

Āndhras, Aūgas, Āvantyas, Čaṇḍalas, Drāmilas or Dravīdas, Kāsīs, Kalingas, Kosalas, Māgadhas, Pāṇcālas, Sauvīras, Sāurasenas, Uśīnaras, Vangas and Yavanas. 15

The following names of the tribes and peoples referred to in the NS are also found in the various inscriptions:

Āndhras, Aūgas, Āvantyas, Bāhlikas, Gaudas, Kāsīs, Kalingas, Kirātas, Kosalas, Māgadhas, Mālavas, Pahlavas, Paunḍras, Pulindas, Sāindhavas, Sākas, Saurāstras, Sauvīras, Vanavāsajas, Vaṅgas and Yavanas. 21
These names are again classified in a
Chronological order as under:

(1) Cânsiform inscriptions of Darius-I
(c. 522 B.C. to 480 B.C.) Saka.

(2) Mahâsenâ fragmentary stone plaque inscription
(3rd cent. B.C.).
Pundranagara.

(3) Rock edicts of Aśoka
(c. 273 B.C. to 236 B.C.)
Andhra, Kâlinga, Mâgadha, Pulinda (Parinda), Yavana.

(4) Hathigumpha inscriptions of Khâravela
(1st cent. B.C.)
Aṅga, Kâlinga, Magadha.

(5) Nasik cave inscription of Usavadāta
(1st cent. A.D.)
Mâlava.

(6) Sârnapâth Buddhist image inscriptions of Kaniska
(c. 78 A.D. to 102 A.D.).
Vârânasî

(7) Ayodhyā stone inscription of Dhanadeva
(1st Cent. A.D.)
Kosala.

(8) Junagadh rock inscription of BËdradëman-I
(c. 130 A.D. to 150 A.D.)
Âharta, Âvantya, Pahlava, Sindhu, Surâstra, Sauvîra.
(9) Nasik cave inscription of Vasiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi
(c. 149 A.D.)
Avanti, Pahlava, Saurāstra.

(10) Audrasimha-I
(181 A.D. to 188 A.D. and 191 A.D. to 196 A.D.)
Ābhīra

(11) Īśvarasena - Ābhīra king
(3rd cent. A.D.)
Ābhīra

(12) Nāgarjunikondē inscription of Viṛapurusadatta
(3rd cent. A.D.)
Kirāta, Vanavāśī, Vaṅga.

(13) Allāhābād Inscription of Samudraguṇa
(c. 320 A.D. to c. 330 A.D.)
Ābhīra, Kosala, Mālava,

(14) Junāgadh inscription of Skandaguṇa
(455 A.D. to 467 A.D.)
Mleccha, Saurastra.

(15) Mandasor inscription of Narvarman (404 A.D.)
Bandhuvarman (473 A.D.) and Vishnuvardhana (573 A.D.)
Mālava, Sindhu.

(16) Mehrauli Iron pillar inscription of Candragupta
(Beginning of the 5th cent. A.D.)
Bāhlika, Sindhu, Vaṅga.
(17) Ajantā inscription of Harisena
(Beginning of the 6th cent. A.D.)
Andhra, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala.

(18) Dubi inscription of Bhāskaravarman
(1st half of the 7th cent. A.D.)
Gauda.

The geographical location of the tribes and peoples as mentioned in the MS practically covers the whole of India. The Sakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, and Bahlīkas are located in the North by the MS. The colour of these people is 'Gaura' i.e. 'pale red'.

Kirātas, Barbaras, Āndras, Dramilas, Kāsis, Pulindas, are mentioned with the inhabitants of the South. The colour of these peoples is 'Asita' i.e. 'brown'.

The colour of the Pāncalas, Sārasenas, (Vṛas, Māgadhās, Aigas, Vaigas, and Kalīnas as mentioned in the MS is 'Śyāma' i.e. 'dark blue'. These peoples, we have placed to the North-Eastern part of the country.

From geography we may derive some history about some of these tribes. Let us study the following verses:

Pāncalāh sāurasenaścā kāśmirā hastināpurah |
bahlīkaś sakalāścāiva madraka uśinārastathā ||13.49.
This means that the Sākas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, Pāṇcālas, Bāhlikas, Saurasenas, Kāśmiras, Usinaras, etc. were known to the NS as living in the North. But in the history we find them spreading in different parts of the country.

Let us start with the Yavanas. The word 'Yavana' was first used primarily for the Ionian Greeks. The Ionian Greeks were known to India at least from the time of the invasion of Alexander of Macedonia. Later on this word came to be used as a synonym of Mleccha and indicated any foreign tribe. The (*Yona* word used by Asoka in his rock edicts is for this people. Some various of the thirteenth Rock Edict of Asoka say that there were no Brāhmaṇas and Sramanas in the Yona country. The Yavana ruler of Bactria-Menander and Demetrius conquered large part of Northern India in the second century B.C. Prof. E.J. Rapson says, "Menander is the only Yavana who has become celebrated in the ancient literature of India. He is unquestionably to be identified with Milinda, the Yavana kind of Sākala (Sialkot), who is one of the two leading characters in the *Malindapañha*.}
the 'Questions of Milinda,' a Pāli treatise on the fundamental principles of Buddhist philosophy.\(^{301}\)

We know that Menander accepted Buddhism and became a disciple of the Buddhist teacher Nagasena.

We know that the Sakas were a branch of the vast scythian hord that played important role in the history of Asia in general and history of India in particular. The Saka settlements in India is an independent chapter of Indian history. The Greek historian Herodotus has supplied valuable information about this tribe. He says, "The Sacea, who are Scythians, had on their heads caps, which came to a point and stood erect: though they also were loose trousers, and carried bows peculiar to their country, and daggers, and also battle-axes called Sagares. These, though they are Amyrgian Scythians, they called Sacae, for the Persians call all the Scythians Sacae."\(^{302}\)

Originally Sakas were nomadic people, but circumstances favoured them to acquire a prominent position in Indian history. They must have taken a long time to assimilate Indian culture. In the beginning they were considered Mleccha and their language non-Aryan.

\(^{301}\) CHI., p.549.

\(^{302}\) The Sakas in India. p.1.
Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya says, "Inscriptions and coins show that in the first century B.C. the Greek rule in the parts of North-Western India was supplanted by kings bearing Scythian or Saka names, and this fact proves adequately that the tribe had already immigrated into India." 303

Bahlkas were the people of Bactria. The ancient Bahlka country was in the north Afghanistan beyond the Hindu Kush. 304 In Indian literature and epigraphs they are always associated with the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas. A king of this tribe Bahlka Pratipaya is referred to in the Satapatha Brahmana and is represented as having opposed the restoration of Dustaritu, king of the Srnjayas. 305 In Vayu Purana and Kavya Meemamsa of Rajasekhara the country of Vahlkas is placed in the northern division. 306 According to Pahini 307 and Patajali 308 Vahika was the another name of Punjab.

303. Ibid p.11.
306. Mbh. Adiparvan, Ch.95, verse,44. (Quoted by B.C.Law, Tribes in Anc. India, p.70).
307. Pahini, IV.1, 117.
Pahlavas are always associated with the Sakas and the Yavanas. In Indian literature and inscriptions, these people are mentioned under the group-name Saka-Yavana-pahlava, as foreigners. In some of the manuscripts of the NS their reading accepted is 'Pahrava'.

309. Dr. M.M. Ghosh, while discussing the date of the NS, says, "The word Pahrava which was the earlier form of Pahlava or Pallava according to Haraprasad Shastri belongs to 200 B.C." Dr. Ghosh examines this conclusion says 'It is true that the foreigners named Parthians had some political foothold in the North-Western frontier of India in about 200 B.C., but we do not know exactly what name they gave to themselves. It is likely that they called themselves Parthians for they have used Greek in their coins. Now the first name which Indians coined for these foreigners were probably Parthava which subsequently developed through Pathrava into Pahrava which again developed into Pahlava or Pallava. The stages will be as follows:

Parthava > Pathrava > Pahrava > Pahlava > Pallava

To think that Parthava immediately developed into Pahrava will be more than the linguistic science will permit. It is quite probable that the process may have taken more or less a century. This will fix the upper limit to the date of the NS somewhere in the century before the beginning of the Christian era." (Journal of Dept., of Letters, p. 157).
It is important to note the absence of any reference to the Hūṇas in the NS. This foreign tribe is frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyāṇa, Purāṇas, Sāṁśīs and classical Sanskrit literature. So this absence of reference to the Hūṇas in the NS becomes particularly meaningful when we find that many other non-Āryan tribes mentioned in the Epics and the Purāṇas are also mentioned in the NS. It is possible that though they were known to India from the 1st century B.C. they must not have been important enough to be noted by the author of the NS. They were not in a position to establish their power up to 500 A.D. The earliest mention in epigraph of this people is seen in the Bhitāri pillar inscription of Skandagupta.

Thus the absence of reference to the Hūṇas and the location of the Sākas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and Bahlkhas in the north may be taken to suggest that the NS reflects the historical period before or beginning of the Christian era.
Chapter-9

SPEECHES AND DIALECTS REFERRED TO IN THE NS

In the last two chapters I have tried to draw a picture of the different regions which formed India and of the tribes and peoples who lived in these regions. In the present chapter I take up the topic of the speeches and dialects mentioned in the NS.

Adhyāyas 14 to 17 deal with Vīcika Abhinaya. In this connection the various speeches and dialects that might be used in a drama are also mentioned. In Adhyāya 32 also, while describing the various Dhruvās, Bharata speaks about the languages of the Dhruvās. The language to be used for Dhruvās should be Sauraseni. He further informs us that sometimes it may be Māgadhī when the Dhruvās of the Narkuṭaka class are to be composed.

Adhyāya 14 mentions two kinds of Pāṭhya i.e. recitation viz. Sanskrit and Prakrit. This is followed by a brief grammar of Sanskrit according to Pāṇini's grammar in about 33 verses (5-37). After teaching the correct usage of words, Bharata refers to two types of

Literary compositions viz. Nibaddhabandha-meterical or verse and Gūḍha-loose i.e. prose.\(^2\)

This is followed by the description of various metres and the different kinds of Laksānas and Alamkāras.

It is in Adhyāya 17 that we get a description of Prakrit speeches which is more important for the history of Middle Indo-Āryan languages of India. As far as Sanskrit is concerned, the speech was grammatically fixed by Pāṇini and there was no scope for any change in it.

In the beginning of this Adhyāya, Bharata defines Prakrit with reference to Sanskrit thus.

"Etadev Viparyastāḥ Saṁskāraguṇavairjitaṁ/
Vijñeyam Prākṛtaṁ pāṭhyam nānāvasthāntarātmakaṁ/"

(17.2).

In this verse the terms 'Viparyasta' and 'Saṁskāra' are technical terms of Sanskrit grammar. In this connection Viparyasta means - interchanged or inverted and Saṁskāra means grammatically correct formation or use of a word.\(^3\)

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2. NS 14.39
It also means correctness of purity of pronunciation. The word 'Avasthä', according to AG, means different formations of Prakrit due to different regions. Thus in the view of NS Prakrit is not Sanskrit but interchanged or interverted and without the rigid grammatical polish, and further, has different formations dependent upon different regions.

This verse refers, in short, to the main characteristics of Prakrit, to all the vocalic changes and absence of rigidity of rules of Sanskrit grammar. It also takes note of the growth of different varieties of Prakrit dependent upon different regions.

Now let us note the different kinds of Prakrit. In connection with dramatic production it is in short, of three types: (i) Samāna Sabda i.e. where it is similar to Sanskrit, what is known as Tatsama (ii) Vibhṛṣṭa - what Daṇḍin calls Apabhraṃśa derived from Sanskrit and (iii) Desīgata, i.e. what pertains to Desī i.e. indigenous to the region.

This is followed by a short account of Prakrit grammar.

5. Ibid.
6. NS 17.3.
7. Late Luigi Nitti-Dolci has tried to give correct the text of this portion of the NS in 'The Prakrit Grammarians'.
Further on, in the same Adhyāya, we find Desābhāśā Vikalpana, i.e., a sort of Classification of regional languages. But before that, we are told that four varieties of languages are to be used in the ten Rūpakas. These four are (i) Atibhāśā or Abhibhāśā, (ii) Āryabhāśā, (iii) Jātibhāśā and (iv) Yonyantārībhāśā. These four varieties are used when there is either Sanskrit recitation or Prakrit recitation. Bharata explains Atibhāśā or Abhibhāśā as the language to be used by gods, Āryabhāśā as the language to be used by kings, Jātibhāśā as the languages to be used by the different races. Yonyantārībhāśā consists of the utterances of domestic and wild animals as well as birds. The Āryabhāśā is the speech grammatically correct and pronounced also correctly. The Jātibhāśā is of two kinds: (i) used in Mleccha regions—Mlecchadesā prayuktā ca and (ii) and in Bhārata—Bhārataśamśraya. Here the reference seems to be to the tribal languages of the Mleccha regions and of the tribes living in India. The Yonyantārībhāśā consists of utterances of domestic and wild animals and birds. Here, as explained by Abhinavagupta, the speech is to be understood as the utterances or imitations on the atage of utterances of domestic and wild animals and birds.

8. The variant of 'Ga' manuscript mentioned in the f.n. of NS vol.II, p.272.
9. NS 17.28-30.
Now, what is to be understood by Atibhāṣā or Abhībhāṣā? According to an opinion mentioned by AG we are to understand by this term the language of the Vedas proper where accents, etc. are to be properly observed.  

Further on, we have the enumeration of seven speeches of different regions referred to in the first line, verse twenty-five. These are Māgadhī, Avantijā, Prācyā, Sauraseni, Ardhamāgadhī, Bāhlikā, and Dākṣinātyā. As against these seven Bhāsās, there are seven Vibhāṣās. These are the speeches of Sakāras, Abhiras, Candāla, Sabras, Dramilas, Andhrs, and Vanecaras i.e. Sakārī, Abhirī, Candālī, Sabarī, Dramidī, Andhrī and Vanecari.  

Thus to summarize, the NS, in addition to Sanskrit, mentions three usages of Prakrit viz. Tatsam, Vibhrāṭa and Desīgata. Add to this the seven Desabhāṣās viz.: Māgadhī, Avantijā, Prācyā, Sauraseni, Ardhamāgadhī, Bāhlikā, and Dākṣinātyā and also the seven Vibhāṣās of different aboriginal tribes viz.: Sakārī, Abhirī, Candālī, Sabarī, Dramidī, Andhrī and Vanecari. Ayabhāṣā may be respectively taken as the Vedic language proper and the latter classical Sanskrit. Under Jātibhāṣā we may include both the seven Bhāsās and the seven Vibhāṣās.  

12. Ibid.
The utterances of domestic and wild animals and birds are merely imitated sounds on the stage. Thus the NS notes Vedic Sanskrit, Sanskrit, and Prakrit the last including the seven major Prakrit speeches and the seven speeches of the aborigines and outcastes.

Part-II

Before we consider how, when, and by whom these speeches are to be used in various types of Rūpaka, we may consider the significance of the mention of fourteen Prakrit speeches - seven Bhāṣās and seven Vibhāṣās - for the history of Middle Indo-Āryan. For this purpose let us note what the older writers on Sanskrit poetics and the prominent Prakrit grammarians have to say.

Bhamaha (8th cent. A.D.) in his Kāvyālaṃkāra mentions three languages in which a literary composition is made, viz. Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa.¹³

Daniel (9th cent. A.D.) in his Kāvyādārsā divides Vaṅgīṣmayya or literary speech into four varieties viz. Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa and the Misra i.e. mixed.¹⁴ Leaving aside the mixed speech, we can say that Daniel also has in his mind mainly three languages, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa. In the next verse Daniel

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¹³ Samskṛtaḥ Prākṛtaḥ cāṇyadaḥ bhṛmaḥ īti trīdhā - KL., 1.16.
¹⁴ KD, 1.32.
describes the Prakritkrama or the series of Prakrits thus - "Tadbhava, Tatama and Desā."\textsuperscript{15} i.e. the Tatsamā Prakrit, the Tadbhava Prakrit and the Desā Prakrit. This may be compared to Saṃnasābda, Vibhrāsta and Desīgata of Bharata.\textsuperscript{16} In the next two verses Daṇḍin enumerates Prakrit speeches. He first considers the Mahāraṣṭrāśrayabhasā i.e. Mahāraṣṭrī Prakrit and calls it Prakrit par excellence (prakṛṣṭa) because it is an ocean of gems of fine verses and in it are composed great poems like Setubandha and others.\textsuperscript{17} In addition to Mahāraṣṭrī Prakrit he mentions Śārasoni, Gauḍī and Lāṭī and any other languages like these.\textsuperscript{18} Daṇḍin describes Apabhraṃśa in two ways (i) any thing which is corrupted from Sanskrit and (ii) the speeches of Ābhīras and such other tribes.

Rudraṭa (9th cent. A.D.) takes note of six literary speeches as against three, according to Namisādhu, his commentator. These are: Sanskrit, Prakrit, Māgadhī, Piśācī, Śārasoni, and calls the sixth variety Apabhraṃśa.\textsuperscript{19}

Rājasekhara (880 A.D. - 920 A.D.) who had a special predilection for Prakrits mentions along with Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, Bhūtabhāṣā i.e. Paisācī.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{15.} KD, 1.31.
\textsuperscript{16.} NS 17.2.
\textsuperscript{17.} KD, 1.34, 35.
\textsuperscript{18.} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{19.} KP., 2.11-12.
\textsuperscript{20.} KM, Adhyāya 7 and 9, pp.3 and 48-49.
Dhanika (10 cent. A.D.) in his Avaloka on Daśarūpaka of his brother Dhanāñjaya, explains Prakrit as a speech derived from Prakrit, i.e. Sanskrit and gives the usual classification of Tadbhava, Tatsam and Desī and regards Desī as of many varieties. He specifically mentions Sūraseni and Māgadhī. Dhanāñjaya also mentions Paisācī with reference to low character. Dhanāñjaya says that they should use the speech of their particular region.21

Bhoja (Between 1010 A.D. - 1055 A.D.) in his Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa while describing Jāti Sabdālāmkāra mentions first the three languages viz. Sanskrit, Prakrit and Mlecchabhāṣā. He also mentions Paisācī, Saurasenī, Māgadhī, as also Apabhṛṣṭa. About languages in Gaṇādhara, he mentions Desabhāṣā along with Sanskrit.22

Vāgbhaṭa (12 cent. A.D.) mentions four varieties of Bhāṣās in which poetry is composed, viz. Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhṛṣṭa and Bhūtabhāṣita or Pāśca. Prakrit, he divides into Tattulya, Tajja and Desāja, which are equivalent to Tatsam, Tadbhava and Desīya. About Apabhṛṣṭa, he says, it is sūddha or pure

21. DR., IX * 65. p.95*
22. SK., XI. 7-16.
when spoken in accordance with the pronunciation of its particular region and unmixed any other element.\textsuperscript{23}

Hemacandra (12th cent. A.D.) in his Kāvyānusāsana, while explaining the Bhāṣādṛṣṭa, mentions the following speeches: Sanskrit, Prakrit, Māgadhī, Paisācī, Sauraseni and Apabhramśa.\textsuperscript{24}

Prathvidhara ( ), the commentator of Mrcc., by a way of preface, in his commentary (has some remarks) about the speeches generally used in dramas, as well as an explanation of the different dialects used by different characters. He also gives a few notes on some of the characteristics of these different Prakrit dialects. I will here take note of what Prathvidhara has to say in a general way about the use of Prakrits in drama.

He says, out of Prakrits of many varieties four Bhāṣās or speeches are to be used in Nāṭaka and other Rājakas. These are Sauraseni, Āvantikā, Prācyā and Māgadhī. Out of the many varieties of Apabhramśa four are generally used - Sakārī, Cāndāli, Sābarī and Dhakkadesī. He quotes the verse from Bharata's NS about the seven Bhāṣās. He remarks that Mahārāṣṭrī, etc. are only used in Kāvyā, meaning thereby that Mahārāṣṭrī, etc.

\textsuperscript{24} Kāvyānusāsana-5 p. 330-31.
are not used in Ṛṣipakas. He also quotes from Bharata's NS the seven Vibhāsās. He, however, prefaces the quotation by the word 'Apabhraṃśa'. This means that in the opinion of Prthvīdhara, these seven Vibhāsās are varieties of Apabhraṃśa.  

While explaining the varieties of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, Prthvīdhara says that in Ṛṣiṣṭī, Sābara is not used because there is no Sābara character in it.  

Lakṣmīdhara (middle of the 16th cent. A.D.) in the introductory verses of his Saḍabhāṣācandrikā, mentions the different Prakrit speeches. He uses the word Prakṛti for Prakṛta. He says Bhāṣā or speech has two divisions (i) Saṃskṛta and Prakṛti - Sanskrit and Prakrit. According to him Prakṛti is the Vikṛti i.e. of Saṃ Sanskrit, which is Prakṛti. This speech is of six varieties - in the order - Prakṛti, Sauraseni, Māgadhī, Paisācī, Cūlikā-Paisācī and Apabhraṃśa. Then he gives the regions in which these Prakrits had their origin. Prakrit is known to have its origin in Mahārāṣṭra. In support, he quotes the verse of Dandin which we have already taken note of.

Thus, for Lakṣmīdhara Prakrit is Mahārāṣṭrī. The origin of other speeches is thus described: Sauraseni

26. Ibid.  
27. SC, 1.23-30, p.4
has its origin in Surasena, Magadhā in Magadha, and two types of Paisáci - in Pisáca country. He describes the Pisáca region on the authority of the elders.

These are Pāndya, Kesākya, Bāhlika, Śińha, Nepāla, Kuntala, Sudhasana, Bhoja, Gandhāra, Haiva, Kāmmuṣajana.

Amongst the older grammars of Prakrit, we may here take note of Prākṛtaprakāśa of Vararuci (not later than 3rd cent. B.C.) and the Prākṛtalakṣaṇa of Canda (3rd cent. B.C.). The Prākṛtaprakāśa has a commentary named Manorāma by Bhāmaha. It is not certain whether this Bhāmaha is the same as the author of Kāvyalakāra. As to the text of Prākṛtaprakāśa, in the opinion of some scholars only the eight Paricchedas are by Vararuci. According to others all the 12 are by Bhāmaha. Bhāmaha's commentary extends up to 11 Paricchedas but in some manuscripts there is a colophon which suggests that there was a Bhāmaha's commentary on the 12th Pariccheda also. But it is not yet found. The PP in its first 9 Paricchedas gives rules about a general Prakrit which is not named. The last sutra of the 9th Pariccheda (13) is "Seṣah Saṃskṛtāt" i.e. whatever is left out is to be known from Sanskrit. The 10th Pariccheda

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28. Dr. A. B. Keith is of the opinion that the relation age of Vararuci and Canda author of the Prākṛtalakṣaṇa is disputed (HSL, p.433).
is devoted to Paisācī. Its Prakṛti i.e. substratum is said to be Sāuraseni. The word Paisācī in the commentary of Bhāmaha is explained as the speech of Pisācas. This Pariccheda contains only 14 sūtras. The 11th Pariccheda treats of Māgadhī. It is explained as the speech of Māgardhas. Its substratum is Sāuraseni. This Pariccheda has in all 16 sūtras. The 12th Pariccheda treats of Sāuraseni. Its substratum is Sanskrit.

From these references, we can gather the opinion of Vararuci thus. In addition to general Prakārit described in the first 9 Paricchedas, there are three other Prakārits viz. Paisācī, Māgadhī and Sāuraseni. Sāuraseni is the substratum of Paisācī as well as Māgadhī, while substratum of Sāuraseni is Sanskrit.

The question is: what is the name of the Prakārit described in the first 9 Paricchedas? If we put together the 18th sūtra of the 9th Pariccheda viz. “Śeṣaḥ Saṁskṛtāt” and the second sūtra of the 12th Pariccheda-“Prakṛtiḥ Sanskṛtam”, we can say that the speech described in the first 9 Paricchedas and Sāuraseni have the same substratum viz. Sanskrit. This would give a sort of co-ever position to Sāuraseni with the general Prakārit described in the first 9 Paricchedas.

29. Prakṛtiḥ Sāuraseni - p.10.2.
30. Prakṛtiḥ Sāuraseni - Ibid.11.2.
However, at the end of the 12th Pariccheda, describing Sauraseni, we have the last sūtra viz. 32 "Sesam Mahāraṣṭrīvat" - This means that whatever is left out about Sauraseni, should be like Mahāraṣṭrī. This means that the Mahāraṣṭrī is the general substratum of Sauraseni. This is a bit inconsistent with the 2nd sūtra of the 12th Pariccheda which says Sanskrit is the substratum of Sauraseni.

In the opinion of some scholars this 32nd sūtra is the later interpolation. As, however, there is no commentary of Bhāmaha on this Adhyāya, it is very difficult to say how far this opinion is correct. In the light of the absence of mention of Mahāraṣṭrī in the Prākrit-lakṣaṇa of Canda and the Prakrit grammar of Hemacandra, this sūtra about Mahāraṣṭrī is suspect.

Prakrit-lakṣaṇa of Canda is comparatively a shorter work consisting of three Vidhānas. Unlike the Prakrit of Vareṇci, Canda mentions the word Prakrit in the very first sūtra and says in it that the well-known Prakrit is of three types. In the commentary, the three types described are: Sanskrit, Sama, and Desī-prasiddha, i.e. Tatsamī, Tadbhava, and Desī. In the second Svaravidhāna, Sanskrit is referred to for Sandhi. In the last Vyañjana Vidhāna, we have references to Apabhramśa, Paisācikī and Māgadhikā.

in three sūtras, one for each. Thus in the opinion of Canda, the grammatical rules given in the two Vidhānas are about the general Prakrit. As noted above, he does not mention Māhārāṣṭrī. He has nothing to say about Deśī, probably he included Apabhraṃśa, Paisācikī and Māgadhikā in Deśī.

Let us now take note of the classic Prakrit grammar of Hemacandra. It forms the 8th Adhyāya of his Sābdānusāsana. In the very first sūtra, he says—"Atha Prākṛtam". He excludes the Deśya from his treatment of Prakrit in this work; for Deśya he has a separate work known as Deśīnāmamālā. So he takes note of only Tadbhava Prakrit. This Tadbhava Prakrit is described in the three Pādas and 259 sūtras of the 4th Pāda. He devotes sūtras 260 to 448 to Sāurasenī, Māgadhī, Paisācī, Cūlikā-Paisācikā and Apabhraṃśa. Thus Hemacandra’s Prakrit speeches are these five.

In sūtra 286, of the 4th Pāda, after finishing the description of Sāurasenī, he says—"Sesam Prākṛtvat" and explains in his Vṛtti that anything in addition to what has been said about Sāurasenī in this chapter, is like Prakrit. Similarly, after describing Māgadhī, he says in sūtra 302—"Sesam Sāurasenīvat." After devoting four sūtras 324-327, he says in sūtra 328—"Sesam Prāgvat". This means that here also Sāurasenī is to be taken for general reference. He
devotes sūtras 329 to 445 to Apabhramṣa. In sūtra 446, he says - "Saurasenīvat" - In the last sūtra viz. 448, Hemacandra says - "Śeṣaṃ Samskṛtatvat Siddhaṃ" and explains it as follows: Whatever is not described in this 8th Adhyāya about Prakrit, etc. speeches, should be taken from Sanskrit established in the previous Saptādhyāyī i.e. the seven Adhyāyas.

Thus we find that Hemacandra recognizes in addition to general Prakrit, Saurasenī, Māgadhi, Paisāci, Cūlikā-Paisācikā and Apabhramṣa. However, he mentions Ārṣa-Prakrit in the 3rd Sūtra of the very first Adhyāya. In sūtra 287 describing the Māgadhi Bhāṣā, he says that the nominative singular of the nouns ending in Ꞥ becomes Ꞥ in Masculine gender and adds that the Ārṣa language known as Ardhamāgadhi Bhāṣā has only this characteristic of Māgadhi. The other characteristics of Māgadhi does not apply to Ardhamāgadhi. Thus we may say that Hemachandra takes note of Ārṣa or Ardhamāgadhi and is related to Māgadhi only in the nominative singular of noun in masculine gender ending in Ꞥ. We must note here, Hemacandra also does not mention Māhārāṣṭrī, for him there is a general Prakrit and the five particular speeches viz. Saurasenī, Māgadhi, Paisāci, Cūlikā-Paisācikā and Apabhramṣa. Another point to be noted is that Hemacandra regards Saurasenī as language of reference
for Māgadhī, Paisācī, Gālikā-Paisācikā and Apabhramśa. From this view, one may conclude that for Hemackadra there is Prakrit along with Sanskrit and alongside Prakrit there is Sauraseni. So he gives an equal importance to Prakrit and Sauraseni, of course as he regards Sanskrit as the Prakṛti of Prakrit - all these speeches have ultimately to be related to Sanskrit. This view seems to be due to the fact that Sanskrit was the first speech to have systematic grammar by Pāṇini. So the grammarians of Prakrit speeches followed the Sanskrit grammar.

When we compare what Bharata has said with the Prakrit grammarians, it is rather surprising that they do not mention Bharata or the NS in their discussions about the characteristics of Prakrit speeches. It is only later grammarians like Mārkandeya, who mentions Bharata and quotes here and there from the NS, I, therefore, now takes note of what Mārkandeya says in his Prākṛta-Sarvasva. He mentions the names of some of the authors whose works he has carefully studied and from which he has taken his matter. These are Sākalya, Bharata, Kohala, Vararuci, Bhāmaha, Vasantarāja, etc. Mārkandeya notes two types of Prakrit: Tājdbhava and Tatsama and says that in the opinion of some Desya is also one of the Prakrits. In the commentary he quotes

33. PS. 1.1.
an untraced verse from Bhojadeva with reference to Desya. Desya is called because of being used in different modes of speech in countries ruled by the kings as also by the people in their own particular ways. 34

Markandeya quotes about six verses enumerating the Bhāṣās and the Vibhāṣās seem to be from NS Adhyāya 17, verses 47-48. 35 There are, however, important variations. Bharata mentions seven Bhāṣās, while the quotation of Markandeya mentions eight. The quoted verse adds Mahārāṣṭrī. 36 As to Vibhāṣās, it is practically identical.

34. Ibid p.4.
35. Magadhyavantija prácyā saurasyardhamāgadhī,
Bāhlikā dākṣiṇātyā ca septa bhāṣāḥ prakīrtitā-
Sakarabhīracāṇḍāla śabaradramilāndhārajāh,
Hīnā vanecarāṇām ca vibhāṣā nāṭake smṛtāh
(NS 1249-50).

36. Mahārāṣṭrī tathāvanti saurasyardhamāgadhī,
Bāhlikī māgadhī prácyetyaṣṭau tā dākṣiṇātyaḥ.
Sakarabhīracāṇḍām asabaradravidaurajāh,
Hīnā vanecarāṇām ca vibhāṣā nāṭakāśrayāh
(PS. Text. p.4).
Markandeya, however, seems to make certain innovations. He does not accept the eight-fold division of Bhāsās. He accepts five Bhāsās and not eight. These are Māhārāṣṭri, Sauraseni, Prācyā, Āvantī and Māgadhī and drops Ardhamāgadhī, Bāhlika and Dāksiṇātyā.\textsuperscript{37} Markandeya accepts a four-fold classification of Prakrits, viz. Bhāsā, Vibhāsā, Apabhraṃśa and Paisāci. As noted above, Bhāsās and Vibhāsās account for eleven varieties. To these he adds three varieties of Paisāci. The three varieties of Apabhraṃśa are: Nāgara, Vṛacāḍa and Upanāgara. Of Paisāci, he accepts three viz. Kaikēya, Sauraseni, & Pāncāla. Thus, in all, he accepts sixteen varieties of Prakrits and proceeds to describe the grammar of these sixteen varieties. He first takes up Māhārāṣṭri because it is useful for all the speeches - "Sarvabhāṣopayogitvāt."\textsuperscript{38} In support of the importance that he gives to Māhārāṣṭri, he quotes a verse of Paramācārya Daṇḍin, which we have already quoted. It seems that Markandeya who lived in the 16th cent. seems to have studied all the previous Prakrit grammars available to him including the fragment of Prakrit grammar in the NS of Bharata. He does not seem to be strictly following any tradition.

\textsuperscript{37} Ps, p.5.
\textsuperscript{38} PS, p.6.
but has his own innovation in the classification of speeches and naming Māhārāṣṭrī as the Principal Prakrit language, while, as we have noted, the other important grammarians simply call it Prakrit. He has, however, accepted Bharata’s division of Prakrits into Bhāṣā and Vibhāṣā though he does not completely accept Bharata’s enumeration. In this matter, he differs from other Prakrit grammarians. In this way, he seems to show that he is following a hoary tradition.

**Part-III**

A comparison of what has been said about Prakrit speeches in the NS with what has been said by some writers on Sanskrit poetics and important early and late Prakrit grammarians, shows some similarities and some noteworthy differences. The division of Prakrit into Tatsamī, Tadbhava, and Desya is generally accepted by all. The division of Prakrit Bhāṣās and Vibhāṣās appears to have appealed to Mārkaṇḍeya of the 16th Cent. Other writers do not seem to take note of this. Bhāṣās and Vibhāṣās are explained by AG thus: Bhāṣās (Prakrit) are the Āpabhramśa of Sanskrit and Vibhāṣās are the Āpabhramśa of Bhāṣās; this according to AG the seven (Prakrit) Bhāṣās of the NS are derived from Sanskrit, while the seven Vibhāṣās are derived from the Prakrit Bhāṣās. 39 The later writers

seem to select only some of these fourteen speeches of the NS. In addition to Sanskrit and Prakrit generally accepted, let us note the varieties in some of the works of Sanskrit poetics. Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Rudraṭa, Rājaśekhara, Bhōja, Vāgbhaṭa and Hemāandra - all mention Apabhraṃśa which the NS mentiona Vihṛṛṭa. Daṇḍin mentions Sauraseni, Māhāraṣṭri, Gaṇḍī, and Lāṭī. Of these only Sauraseni is to be found in the NS. Māhāraṣṭri, Gaṇḍī and Lāṭī are not mentioned in the NS. Rudraṭa mentions Māgadhī, Piṣācī, and Śīraseni. Rājaśekhara, Dhanika, Vāgbhaṭa and Hemacandra also mention Paiṣācī. NS mentions Māgadhī and Sauraseni but not Paiṣācī.

Amongst the early Prakrit grammarians, let us take note of Vararuci and Canda. Vararuci does not mention the name of the speech which he discusses in the first 9 Paricchedas. One may assume that it is Prakrit. In addition he mentions Paiṣācī, Māgadhī, and Sauraseni and if the last sūtra is not an interpolation, Māhāraṣṭri also. As noted above, Sauraseni and Māgadhī find mention in the NS, but not Paiṣācī and Māhāraṣṭri. Of the four speeches mentioned by Canda viz. Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, Paiṣācikī and Māgadhikā only Prakrit and Māgadhikā are mentioned in the NS. Hemacandra's speeches are Prakrit, Sauraseni, Māgadhī, Paiṣācī, Gūlikā-Paiṣācikā and Apabhraṃśa. Here also Sauraseni and
Magadhi are common with the NS. Hemacandra, however, refers to Arsa Prakrit in the beginning and Ardhamagadhi, which describes Magadhi. Of these Ardhamagadhi finds place in the NS.

Coming to Markandeya, we find, as noted above, the division of Prakrit into Bhasa and Vibhasa. He in all accepts 16 speeches. Of these Sauraseni, Pracya, Avanti, and Magadhi are common with the Bhasas of the NS. Of the Vibhasas Sakari, Candal, Sabari, Abhirika, are common with the NS. Markandeya substitutes Takki in place of Dravid and says that Dravid is included under Takki. So we can say that he preserves Dramila also. His three varieties of Ababhramsa viz. Nagara, Vraca, and Upangara are not be found in the NS. So also the three varieties of Paisaci viz. Kaikeya, Saurasena and Pancaala, are also not mentioned in the NS. Though in his four main divisions Bhasa, Vibhasa, Apabhramsa and Paisaca, he accepts Paisaci. In this way Markandeya can be said to accept six of the seven Bhasas of the NS.

Part-IV

An important point to be noted, in the discussion of Prakrit speeches, is the absence of mention of Maharastri in the NS, important works on poetics and those of Prakrit grammar. These used the
name of Prakrit for which Markandeya substitutes Maharāṣṭrī.

In the NS a pre-eminent position is given to Saurasenī.

It says amongst all pure i.e. higher casts Saurasenī is to be used for poetry.40 This has created amongst scholars a controversy about the relation of Saurasenī and Maharāṣṭrī. Dr. S.K. Chatterji refers to the 'plausible conclusion' of Dr. M.M. Ghosh that Maharāṣṭrī represented not the language of Maharāṣṭra, contemporaneous with Saurasenī and Māgadhī, but rather it was just a later form of Saurasenī, etc. Dr. Chatterji seems to approve of this view and says, "Maharāṣṭrī Prakrit from the above point of view would thus represent only a stage between Saurasenī Prakrit (which retain inter-vocal stops voiced) and Saurasenī Apabhramśa."41

This opinion has been controverted by Dr. K.C. Acharya in the introduction to his edition of Prākṛta-Sarvasva. He says, "Whatever might have been the original position of Prakrit this much is certain that, three distinct phases of it, namely Maharāṣṭrī, Saurasenī and Māgadhī early rose to literary eminence, and it is difficult to establish a chronological order among them. The late appearance of Maharāṣṭrī as the medium of lyrical songs in drama compared to the early appearance

40. NS 17.47.
of Sauraseni and Magadhi in the same does not give sufficient ground to the non-existence of Maharastrī in earlier times. Its retention of Vedic forms rather suggests its existence in remote antiquity in some form or other.  

This rather a controversy about nomenclature. The grammar of the general Prakrit is undoubtedly the grammar of Maharastrī. It is, however, a different matter whether the speech regulated in this general Prakrit existed in earlier time or not. It is possible that the seventh Bhāṣā of the NS viz. Dākṣinātyā is a fore-runner of later Maharastrī.

Another controversial problem is that of Ardhamāgadhi. Bharata mentions it as one of the seven Bhāṣās. No writer on Sanskrit poetics is known to refer to this Ardhamāgadhī Bhāṣā. Amongst the grammarians Hemacandra and the later Mārkaṇḍeya mention it. Hemacandra, as we have noted, mentions only one characteristic of Ardhamāgadhi viz. nouns in masculine gender and in व instead of म. But the question is what is Ardhamāgadhi, what is its literature and what are its other characteristics. The language of the Jain Āgamas is often referred to as Ardhamāgadhī Bhāṣā.

42. PS., Introduction, pp.83-84.
Pandit Bechardas Doshi, the veteran scholar of Prakrit, has conclusively shown that the language of the Jain Agamas have no affinity with Māgadhi, has very little to do with the characteristics of Māgadhi, described by the Prakrit grammarians. The Prakrit of the Agamas or at the earlier Agamas like Ācārāṅga, Sūtrakṛtāṅga, etc. agrees with the general Prakrit; only it is an earlier form. It may, therefore be properly called Ārṣa Prakrit and not Ardhamāgadhi.

Markandeya while rejecting Ardhamāgadhi from the list of the Prakrits mentioned in the introductory verses says that Māgadhi which is not far away Sauraseni is Ardhamāgadhi. For that reason Ardhamāgadhi should not be counted as a Bhāṣā. Any one who studies the language of the Jain Agamas will agree with the opinion of Pandit Bechardas that the language of the Jain Agamas is Prakrit.

Another interesting point that one may notice is a number of Prakrit speeches. This number according to NS is 14. In a Jain Prakrit work called Kuvalayamālākathā of Daksināyacihnasuri (9th cent. A.D.), speeches of 18 regions are mentioned. These are Lāṭa, Karnāṭaka,
Mālava, Kanoja Golla, Karaya, (Karwar?), Mahārāṣṭrā, Saurāṣṭrā, Dhakka, Kera, Aṅga and Sindh. In another reference, the 18 desībhāṣās are supposed to be mentioned, though in fact only 16 are mentioned, and illustrated. It is said that a merchant named Śrīdatta after having learnt the speeches of 18 countries starts to learn the languages of the Anāryas. These are the speeches of Javasa, Pārāsa and Barbaras. The speeches of the sixteen regions which are illustrated are: Golla(Gauḍa?), Madhyadesa, Magadha, Antarvedi, Kīra, Dhakka, Sindh, Kāru(Karwar?), Gurjara, Lāṭa, Mālava, Karṇāṭaka, Tai(?), Kosala, Mahārāṣṭrā and Indhra.45.

This gives an idea about the speeches of the different regions of India which a man who wants to be proficient in speeches has to learn. The NS, because it has to take notice of the different speeches used on the stage, has also to mention them.

Incidentally, I may refer to the question of the origin of Prakrit. All the grammarians, Jains and non-Jains, regard Sanskrit as the Prakṛti or the ground of Prakrit. Modern scholars have discussed this problem at some length and tried to show that the Prakrits including Pāli are not directly derived from Classical Sanskrit.

Sanskrit. Their opinion is that the Prakrit speeches have grown out of the popular speeches current in India in ancient times. This would say that these Prakrit speeches are descendants of these popular spoken languages. In this connection, it has been pointed out that the Vedic speech was also a spoken language and it has been shown that many Prakrit forms are derivable only from the Vedic speech. So if we include Vedic speech as well as the speech condified settled for ever by Pāṇini i.e. classical Sanskrit, we cannot object to the regarding of Sanskrit in this wider connotation, as the Prakṛti of Prakrits.46

PART-V

Speeches are utterances of human beings and therefore the names of various speeches should be primarily understood as utterances of so many tribes and peoples. As has been often happened in history, regions take the names of tribes and vice-versa, the tribes take the names of the regions. So it is very often difficult to say whether a particular name is geographical or tribal. Let us try to correlate the names of the several Prakrit speeches referred to here, with the peoples and regions.

1. Magadhi. As its name suggests its geographical centre was ancient Magadha. A.C. Woolner is of the opinion that "Magadhi is the Prakrit of the East." According to NS this dialect is to be assigned to guards or inmates of the royal harem. It is also used by the diggers of subterranean passages and guards of drinking houses. We are further informed that in times of calamity the heroes may also use this speech to protect themselves.

In Abhipaniśākuntala, the policemen and fisherman use this dialect. In Mrčchakaṭṭika Sthāvaraka and Sākara speak this speech. The two Turuṣka prisoners in Lalita-Vigṛaharāja-nāṭaka, while talking with their fellow country man, talk in this dialect.

2. Avantī or Avantī. No authentic description of this dialect is available. Its name suggests

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47. NS 17: 49, 51, 57; 32: 383.
48. Intro. to Prakrit, p. 5:
49. NS 17-57.
51. Mrčch. Act. X.
52. Lalita-Vigṛaharāja-nāṭaka, Act. IV (edited by Kielhorn, T. A. Vol. XX, 1891.)
53. NS 17-49, 52.
that its geographical centre was Avanti country. According to NS this speech is to be assigned to gallent crooks. \textsuperscript{54} Mr\textsuperscript{rochaka}\textsuperscript{tika} contains the specimens of Āvanti. According to Pr\textsuperscript{rthvidhara}, the two policemen Viraka and Candanaka speak this dialect. \textsuperscript{55}

3. **Pr\textsuperscript{racya}** \textsuperscript{56} This is one kind of Prakrit prevalent in the Pr\textsuperscript{racya} countries i.e. eastern countries. This dialect like Āvanti seems to be non-existence. In Prakrit grammars nowhere it is described authentically. According to NS it is to be assigned to the Vidūṣakas and the like. \textsuperscript{57} We come across the specimens of this speech in Mr\textsuperscript{rochaka}\textsuperscript{tika}. According to Pr\textsuperscript{rthvidhara}, Vidūṣaka in Mr\textsuperscript{croch.} speak Pr\textsuperscript{racya}, the sole characteristic of which is abundance of pleonastic 'ka'. \textsuperscript{58}

4. **Sauraseni** \textsuperscript{59} This is the well-known Prakrit dialect used in Sanskrit ārama. Its geographical centre was Śūrasena country.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{54} NS 17.52.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Mr\textsuperscript{roch.} Act. VI.
\item \textsuperscript{56} NS 17.49,52.
\item \textsuperscript{57} NS 17.52
\item \textsuperscript{58} Quoted by MMG, N.S. Eng. Trans. Revised Edn. p. 330., fn. 50.1
\item \textsuperscript{59} NS 17: 47,49,52, 32.383.
\end{itemize}
whose capital was Mathura. A.C. Woolner says, "Sauraseni was the Prakrit of the Madhyadesa taking its name from Sirasena, the country round Mathura. This is the ordinary Prakrit of a Sanskrit drama." This scholar further says, "It is spoken by ladies and the Vidushakas. This Prakrit is the nearest to classical Sanskrit. It arose in the same country and is descended from the spoken language, on which classical Sanskrit was mainly based. It thus forms an intermediate stage between Sanskrit and Hindi (that is, the Western Hindi on which literary Hindi has been based)."

According to NS this dialect is to be assigned to the Heroines and their female friends.

The specimens of this speech is found in the Ratnavali, a drama of Sri Harsha. In the interlude preceding the second Act, there is a dialogue between the heroine and her two girl friends, which suggests the use

60. Intro. to Prakrit. p. 5.
61. Ibid.
62. NS 17.52.
of this language. Further in this drama in the soliloquy of Sāgarikā and conversation with Susāṅgata we find this dialect. In Abhijanāśākuntala also we find Śākuntalā using this dialect. In Mṛcch. the Viḍūṣaka also speaks this dialect.

5. **Ardhamāgadhī**. The Ardhamāgadhī of the NS has not much to do with the so-called Ardhamāgadhī of the Jain scriptures. A.C. Woolner believes it to be "A Prakrit based on the dialect spoken between Sūrasena and Magadha. In its phonetic character it resembles Māgadhī in some respects. It preserves more traces of the old grammar than Sauraseni, and shows a greater independence from Sanskrit." Jacobi called this Jain Prakrit and regarded it as an older, more archaic Maharastri. Its name Ardhamāgadhī is interpreted in two ways: (i) having half the nature of Māgadhī, and (ii) current in half of the Magadha country.

64. Ratnāvalī, Act. II.
65. Abhi. S. Act. V.
66. Mṛcch. Act. IV, VI.
67. NS 17.49, 51.
68. Intro. to Prakrit, p. 6.
70. Dr. S. M. Katre, Prakrit Languages and their contribution to Indian Culture, p. 19.
According to NS this dialect is to be assigned to menials, princes, and leaders of bankers guilds.  

6. **Bahlika**  
The speech of the Bahlika people. This is also one kind of Prakrit. It seems to be nonexistence. In Prakrit grammars the same is not described. Its geographical centre must have been the Bahlika or Vahlika country. From this we can say that this was the dialect prevalent in the northern regions of India.

7. **Daśānātīya**  
This is the Prakrit dialect of the Daśānātīya countries. No authentic description of this dialect is found in the Prakrit grammars. In course of time it must have been out of vogue. According to NS it is to be assigned to Yaudhas and Nāgarkas. Dr. M.M. Ghosh has translated these words as soldiers and police chief of the city. According to other reading, to Yaudhas and Garakas. Gamblers also use this dialect.

In Mṛcohakatika Candanaṇaka speaks this dialect.

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71. *NS 17.51.*  
72. *NS 17.49,53.*  
73. *NS 17.53.*  
74. *NS 17.49,53.*  
75. *NS 17.53.*  
This is all about the seven major dialects of Prakrit to be used in a dramatic production. The seven Vibhāsas (Minor speeches) to be used are Sakārī, Ābhīrī, Cāndālī, Sābarī, Dramidi, Āndhīrī or Odrī (According to another reading) and Vanecarī.

I. 1. Sakārī: The speech of the Saka people. It is not described by the Prakrit grammarians authentically. According to NS it is to be assigned to Sakara, Sakas and other groups of the same nature.78

This speech is spoken by king's brother-in-law in the Mṛchakatika.79

2. Ābhīrī: This is the dialect of the Ābhīras. It is not described authentically by Prakrit grammarians. Dr. Bhagawansingh Suryavamshi in his work on Ābhīras says, "These Ābhīra movements in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Khandesh gave birth to some new dialects, still current in those areas and known after them. The Ābhīras used to speak Ābhīrī, a dialect of their own, as recorded by Bharata and Dandin."81 The same scholar further says,

77. NS 17.50, 54, 56.
78. NS 17.54.
80. NS 17.50, 56. Vol. I. p. 33. fn. 32.
"Thus we can notice several Ahir dialects prevalent in various regions of India. One can specifically mention the Gaddi dialect current in the land yet called Gadderan, in the outskirts of the Chambā and Kangṛa hills. Another dialect worth mentioning in this series is Gaudi current in some parts of Madhya Pradesh, and the last, but most important, is Ahiranī spoken in Khandesh."

Dr. M.M. Ghosh is of the opinion that "Ahirī dialect is not available in any extent drama." 83

3. Cāndāli: 84 The dialect of the Cāndālas. This is Prakrit dialect. A.C.K. Woolner believes that Cāndāli and Sābāri appear to be dialects of Māgadhī. 85

According to NS this dialect is to be assigned to Pulkasas and the like. 86

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82. Ibid.
83. NS Eng. Trans. (Revised Edn.) p. 331., f.n. 54. 1.
84. NS 17.50, 54.
85. Introduction to Prakrit, p. 62.
86. NS 17.54.
Mrcohakatika preserves the use of this speech. According to Prthvidhara, Cāndalas in Mrcoh, speak this dialect.\textsuperscript{87}

4. Śabarī.\textsuperscript{88} This is the dialect of the Śabaras. This is one kind of Prakrit. This is not authentically by Prakrit grammarians. According to NS it is to be assigned to charcoal-makers, hunters, and those who earn their livelihood by collecting wood and leaves. It is also prescribed for those who live in places where elephants, horses, goats, sheep, camels, or cows are kept in large numbers.\textsuperscript{89}

This dialect is not detected in any of classical Sanskrit drama.\textsuperscript{90}

5. Dramidi.\textsuperscript{91} The dialect of the Dramila people. This is one kind of Prakrit. Grierson says, "Draviḍa here seems to mean not a Dravidian language such as Tamil but the corrupt form of late Indo-Āryan spoken in the Tamil country.\textsuperscript{91}

This dialect is assigned to foresters and the like by the NS.\textsuperscript{92}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{87} Mrcoh. Act. V.
\item \textsuperscript{88} NS 17.50,56.
\item \textsuperscript{89} NS 17-56.
\item \textsuperscript{90} NS 17.50.
\item \textsuperscript{91} Grierson, JRAS, 1913, p.875.
\item \textsuperscript{92} NS 17.50.
\end{itemize}
Dr. M.M. Ghosh is of the opinion that "Dravīḍī dialect is not available in any extant drama. It is possible that it was not a pure Dravidian speech. Possibly a Middle Indo Āryan dialect in which Dravidian phonetic and lexical influences predominated was meant by this. Its habitat was in all likelihood some region of North India." 93.

6. Andhrī 

The other reading is Oḍrī. This must be the dialect of the Āndhra or Odra people. It is not mentioned in detail by Prakrit grammarians. It is presumed that it must be out of vogue as it is not mentioned in any of the Sanskrit drama.

7. Vanecarī: 
The speech of the Vanecaras i.e. foresters. This dialect is not detected in any of the Classical Sanskrit drama.

Before I end this chapter let me note some characteristic pronunciation of the people of different regions given in the NS. People in the regions between the Ganges and the Sea (Eastern India) use a speech

94. NS 17-50.
95. NS 17.50
abounding in 'ṛ' - 'e', in the regions between the Vindhyā and the Sea (Southern Saurāstra) use speech abounding in 'ṝ' - 'na' or according to another reading abounding in 'ṝ' - 'ta'. The third reading describes the speech of these people as abounding in 'ṝ' - 'sa'. In the regions of Surāṣṭra, Avanti, and the Northern part of Vetravatī the speech abounds in 'ṝ' - 'ca'. The people living in the regions of Himalaya and Sindhu Sauvīra use a speech abounding in 'ṝ' - 'u'. In the regions on the banks of Carmanvati and round about Arbuda, the speech abounds in 'ṝ' - 'o'. In the following verse we are informed that what is to be learnt from the people is not discussed here.

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96. NS 17-59-63.